



**FOREIGN  
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# ***Daily Report***

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## **Sub-Saharan Africa**

**FBIS-AFR-92-134  
Monday  
13 July 1992**

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-92-134

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13 July 1992

NOTICE TO READERS: An \* indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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### **Rwanda**

A cease-fire agreement was reached in Arusha, Tanzania, between the Rwandan Government and the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), ending almost two years of fighting, Paris international reported. The agreement, which is set to go into effect on July 19, will be monitored by officers from the Armed Forces and RPF, as well as military observers from African countries chosen by the OAU. Talks on the political aspects of a settlement, including the formation of a transitional government and ways of integrating the RPF forces into the Armed Forces, will resume on 10 August. Foreign Minister Boniface Ngulinzira called the talks a "success" and said he expected to see "an end to the war."

### **Malawi**

Trade union leader Chakwufa Chihana, arrested in April after calling for the introduction of multiparty democracy, was released on bail, Blantyre radio reported. Chihana, who was ordered to surrender his passport and report to the police once a week, said in a BBC interview after his release that he expected his case to be over by August. In a related development, Blantyre radio announced that agreement had been reached with the International Committee of the Red Cross to allow members of this organization to "make periodic visits to Malawi prisons to interview prisoners or detainees of their choice and report their findings to the government."

**Rwandan Delegations Hold Peace Talks in Tanzania****Talks Supported 'Wholeheartedly'***EA1007222292 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania Network in Swahili 1700 GMT 10 Jul 92*

[Text] Dar es Salaam—Brother John Malecela, prime minister and first vice president, has said Tanzania wholeheartedly supports the discussions that began today in Arusha between the Rwandan Government and its opponents in the Rwandan Patriotic Front.

Speaking during discussions with Rwanda's prime minister, Mr. Dismas Nsengiyaremye, Brother Malecela also praised the Rwandan Government for initiating direct discussions with this group. He said such discussions were the only way to end the conflict.

A joint communique issued at the end of the Rwandan prime minister's three-day visit said the two leaders discussed relations and the economic and political situation in their countries. Both expressed their intention to consolidate cooperation in agriculture, trade, transport, communications, and energy.

**Report on Opening***EA1107144092 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 0430 GMT 11 Jul 92*

[Text] Peace negotiations between the Rwandan Government and the Rwanda Patriotic Front [RPF] opened yesterday in Arusha, northern Tanzania. The talks will deal with a cease-fire agreement and ways of monitoring and maintaining it. After the technical aspects of the negotiations, other aspects of a more purely political nature will be discussed.

Besides the Rwandan Government and the RPF rebels, those participating in the negotiations include neighboring countries, the United States, France, Great Britain, and Belgium. Senegalese President Abdou Diouf, who is also the current OAU chairman, is represented by his country's ambassador in Addis Ababa. On the line from Arusha we have our special envoy, Balthazar Nduwayezu, with a report on the opening ceremony of the negotiations:

[Begin recording] Negotiations with the Rwandan Government and the RPF rebels began in Arusha last night. The opening ceremony was presided over by Ahmed Hasan Diria, the Tanzanian minister of foreign affairs and international cooperation, who said that his country would spare no effort in achieving a lasting peace in Rwanda.

While praising the two parties for agreeing to negotiate and establish direct contacts, he urged them to ensure that the contacts are fruitful. He said they should quickly overcome the psychological barriers which have been separating them for the last (?month) and be flexible so as to enable concessions to be made on each side, if there is a real determination to give peace a chance in Rwanda.

First and foremost, the Rwandan minister of foreign affairs and international cooperation, Boniface Ngulinzira, defined the framework in which his delegation intends to place the discussions and the approaches to the solutions it intends to propose to end the war we have been experiencing for the last two years.

He pointed out that the conflict was absurd and unjust and should be stopped immediately, stressing the principle that political problems cannot be resolved in a satisfactory and just way other than within the framework of negotiated settlements agreed to by all conflicting parties. The alternative is war.

Minister Ngulinzira described the main problems which led to the war and more particularly the RPF demands, i.e. the refugee problem, democratization, its entry into the transitional government, and the integration of RPF fighters into the Rwandan Army.

Regarding the problem of Rwandan refugees, Foreign Minister Ngulinzira indicated that the problem could have been resolved in a just, reasonable, and satisfactory manner if there had been a realistic and constructive approach, which has not been the case. But, he pointed out, the Rwandan Transitional Government [word indistinct] concrete manifestation of an evolution toward a system governed by a political [words indistinct], feels that the return to Rwanda constitutes for all refugees an inalienable right. He therefore committed himself to establishing a frank and open dialogue with representatives of the refugees themselves so as to determine how they might be repatriated under the best conditions and integrated into all the sectors of national activities. For those who chose to settle outside, the government is determined to ensure that they are given the diplomatic protection which every country owes its nationals.

Concerning democratization, Minister Ngulinzira indicated that when the RPF launched the war, it considered itself the only force capable of being an alternative to the sole party, in terms of putting an end to ethnic problems, regionalism, and power monopolization.

The minister added, quote, if the RPF is fighting against dictatorship, discrimination, exclusion, and corruption and for the unconditional return of refugees and democracy, it will have to (?realize) that these values are shared by the majority of Rwandans who opted for a peaceful road to democracy, end quote. He therefore called on the RPF to give up the armed struggle and like all other political parties, to compete for power by following a democratic path.

As for the RPF's participation in a broad-based transitional government, Minister Ngulinzira pointed out that there was nothing to prevent this, provided it joins (?other) political parties [word indistinct] as such, to ensure the transitional running of the country ahead of the establishment of a multiparty democracy.

Turning to the integration of RPF armed elements into the Rwandan Armed Forces, the Rwandan Government feels that these elements will have to be integrated into all sectors of national activities and regarding the army, the integration criteria would have to be agreed upon and [word indistinct] security mechanisms would have to be put in place so that no party would be tempted to deceive another.

For all these points to be dealt with properly, Minister Ngulinzira suggested that at the end of the Arusha talks the two parties should sign an amended agreement updating the N'sele cease-fire agreement as amended in Gbadolite, Zaire, and commit themselves to implementing it immediately, provided efficient monitoring mechanisms are established.

Taking the floor at his turn, the RPF representative, Pastor Bizimungu, categorically opposed the proposals, because according to him, war cannot be stopped before its causes, which he described as the evil of Rwanda, are removed. This is what the two parties will be talking about in Arusha, in the hope that they will be able to reach an agreement.

It is worth noting that besides the delegations of the two conflicting parties - which are led by Boniface Ngulinzira, the minister of foreign affairs and international cooperation, for the Rwandan side, and Pastor Bizimungu, for the RPF - those participating in the Arusha talks as observers include the countries bordering Rwanda, namely Zaire, Burundi, Uganda, and Tanzania of course, as well as the United States, France, Belgium, the OAU, and a personal representative of Senegalese President Abdou Diouf, the current OAU chairman. [as heard]

Negotiations will deal with serious matters today from 0900 hours, Arusha time, that is 0800 hours, Kigali time. [end recording]

#### **RPF Sources Comment**

*AB1107214592 Paris AFP in English 2052 GMT  
11 Jul 92*

[By Hamidu Bisanga]

[Text] Arusha, Tanzania, July 11 (AFP)—Rwandan rebels on Saturday accused the government of prolonging the 21-month civil war by violating ceasefire agreements, sources close to peace talks between the two sides said.

On the second day of closed-door negotiations in the northern Tanzanian town of Arusha between the government and the rebel Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), rebel delegates said the war could have ended much earlier if the government had not repeatedly broken earlier truces, the sources told AFP. The delegates did not give details of the alleged ceasefire violations.

The talks, due to close Sunday, are being held amid an upsurge in violence in the tiny central African country, with the government accusing the RPF of shelling a

refugee camp, a charge denied by the rebels. Pasteur Bizimungu, heading the RPF's eight-member delegation to the Tanzanian-mediated talks, said the rebels would stop fighting if the transitional government agreed to absorb rebel fighters into the army and allowed refugees to return.

The RPF is drawn mainly from the minority Tutsi tribe which ruled Rwanda until an uprising by the majority Hutus in the 1950s and 1960s culminated in the massacre of at least 100,000 Tutsis and sent thousands of others fleeing into neighbouring Uganda, Tanzania and Zaire. Bizimungu said the government should resolve tribal conflicts and allow the refugees to return home safely "without any threats." Rwanda, a former Belgian colony, has one of the world's highest population densities and a severe shortage of housing and farmland.

Bizimungu also called for RPF guerrillas to be integrated into the national army as a precondition for ending the fighting, which has wrecked the impoverished country's economy. The rebels invaded Rwanda from Uganda in October 1990 with the avowed aim of ousting the Hutu-dominated government of President Juvenal Habyarimana, but are now seeking representation in a coalition recently formed as part of a transition to multi-party democracy.

The talks, a follow-up to a first round of negotiations in Paris last month, opened after an upsurge of violence in northern Rwanda, with the government accusing the RPF of attacking a refugee camp. The rebels denied the charge. Bizimungu said the government should take steps to resolve tribal conflicts and achieve "national unity" and "true democracy." Diplomats attending the talks as observers said the demands apparently indicated that the RPF was not satisfied with the government's moves to establish pluralism.

But Rwandan Foreign Minister Boniface Ngulinzira said his government had proposed a meeting with refugees to work out ways to help them resettle in Rwanda. Saying Rwanda had embarked on democratisation, Ngulinzira, heading the government delegation, urged the RPF to lay down its arms and join the political process. "The Rwandan Patriotic Front's stance of solving the problems militarily is not of benefit to the Rwandese people," he told the meeting.

In a sign of mounting international concern about the conflict, officials from the United States, France, Belgium, Uganda, Zaire, Senegal and the Organisation of African Unity are attending the talks as observers. The talks are aimed at securing a ceasefire that could pave the way for further negotiations to achieve a lasting peace.

#### **Nyerere Receives Nsengiyaremye**

*EA1207204592 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania  
External Service in English 0400 GMT 12 Jul 92*

[From the press review]

[Text] A front-page photograph on the SUNDAY NEWS shows the father of the nation, Mwalimu Nyerere, talking with the Rwandese premier, Mr. Dismas Nsengiyaremye, and his counterpart, Mr. John Malecela, when they paid a courtesy call at mwalimu's home in Butiama village.

The paper further quotes the minister for foreign affairs and international cooperation, Ahmed Hassan Diria, as saying the Tanzania Government will render all necessary support and assistance required to achieve lasting peace and stability in neighboring Rwanda. Diria was opening three days of peace talks between the Transitional Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front, RPF, on Friday night [10 July] in Arusha. The CCM [Revolutionary Party] weekly, MZALENDU, also carries that story.

#### Minister Hails Cease-Fire

LD1207195492 Paris Radio France International  
in French 1830 GMT 12 Jul 92

[Text] A cease-fire has been reached in Rwanda. Kigali government representatives and Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF] rebels have finally managed to reach an agreement following the Arusha meeting, which ended barely an hour ago. The talks started in Paris one month ago, but things have only now come to a head. It is hoped that the war that started in October 1990 will now end. Monique Maas reports:

[Begin recording] [Maas] This is the hope of the two sides. A truce will come into force on 19 July; more importantly, the famous cease-fire signed in Zaire in March 1991 and never implemented will come into force on 29 July. The two sides have amended this cease-fire and believe that it is possible to implement it this time. This will be accomplished under the surveillance of a military observers group made up of 50 officers, including five from the ranks of the Rwandan

Armed Forces; five from the RPF; and the others supplied by Zimbabwe, Senegal, Nigeria, and one or more other African countries chosen by the OAU. Political negotiations will resume on 10 August. Practical means for integrating the RPF into the Army and into Rwanda's transitional government will have to be found. This is a fundamental RPF request and a very delicate issue for the Rwandan Government, which has accepted it in principle in Arusha. This political stage should be concluded on 18 October through a definitive peace agreement.

Rwandan Foreign Minister Boniface Ngulinzira, heading the government delegation, was one of the first to react:

[Ngulinzira] The Arusha meeting is a success. We will certainly see an end to the war. Political talks will start on 10 August. Here, in Arusha, we managed to list the principles which will guide these political talks, that is that Rwanda will have to head toward restoring a state based on democratic law. We have accepted in principle the RPF's participation in a broadbased, multiparty transitional government. We then accepted the principle of forming a national army including military [words indistinct]. Obviously, we will have to work toward the (education) of the population so that everyone can take a stand favoring peace. We believe that Arusha opens a new era of hope and reconciliation for the Rwandan people.

[Maas] Are you not afraid that the Rwandan Government Army will be worried to see RPF men join its ranks?

[Ngulinzira] I think that achieving national reconciliation deserves accepting the idea that Rwandan refugees living outside Rwanda should be integrated into all sectors of national life. Naturally, integration at Army level requires precautions yet to be determined through political negotiations. We are all aware of this, but we believe that there will be goodwill on both sides so as to achieve national reconciliation with a view to obtaining peace. [end recording]



## Central African Republic

### Bishops Withdraw From Preparation Commission

AB1007113092 Libreville Africa No 1 in French  
1830 GMT 7 Jul 92

[Text] There are threats of a political crisis in the Central African Republic [CAR]. Along with the opposition political parties and trade unions, the church has also just withdrawn from the national preparatory commission for the grand national debate. This decision is announced in a letter sent by the archbishop of Bangui to President Kolingba's permanent undersecretary, Alexandre Ngatoa in Bangui ha. the details:

[Begin recording] The CAR bishops noted in that letter that the media is still at the service of the public authorities who use it at will to broadcast their own opinions and to attack others without giving them the right to response. It also noted that the (?agenda) of the national preparatory commission for the grand debate is only on already known realities. The bishops also expressed the feeling that the grand national debate which was established by the authorities to replace the sovereign national conference proposed by the opposition parties, cannot be held without the participation of all political shades of opinion in the country, without representatives of all the various components of the nation, without free access to the media, without guarantees for openness, and without [words indistinct] responding to the people's aspirations.

In June, the CAR bishops set conditions for their participation in the national preparatory commission deliberations before delegating four representatives to it. They had wanted to know the stakes in the work of the national preparatory commission, and called for freedom of expression and easy access to the media, as well as the possibility of informing the public on the deliberations on a daily basis.

With the withdrawal now of 14 parties of the Consultative Group of Democratic Forces, trade unions, and the Bishops Conference, a considerable portion of the population is no longer participating in the preparation for the grand national debate. [end recording]

## Gabon

### Progress Party Leader Criticizes Electoral Code

AB1207161092 Paris AFP in English 1543 GMT  
12 Jul 92

[Text] Libreville, July 12 (AFP)—The leader of a Gabonese opposition party, Pierre-Louis Agondjo-Okawe, announced Sunday that he will boycott the next Franco-African summit. The summit is due to take place in Libreville from October 5 to 7.

Agondjo-Okawe told AFP in an exclusive interview that he intends to organise street demonstrations and an

"alternative summit" with members of his Gabonese Progress Party (PGP) and foreign guests.

"This summit is going to be used as a publicity campaign for the president of the republic," he said, "to show that (President Omar) Bongo is a good democrat. We disagree with that."

Agondjo-Okawe severely criticised a new electoral code adopted last week by parliament, claiming it was not "transparent" enough. He is particularly dissatisfied with the fact that representatives from the various political parties who sit on the national commission which oversees elections are only "simple observers." He added that international observers were "excluded."

The leader of the PGP has already criticised the government of Casimir Oye Mba for wanting to organise presidential elections before local and municipal elections.

The parliamentary opposition last week put down a motion of censure against the government in protest against "disrespect for the constitution", since local council elections have not yet been held though their mandates expired on June 28. The opposition's motion was rejected by 72 votes to 45. Bongo's Gabonese Democratic Party (PDG) holds a majority in the parliament.

Speaking at a press conference, Father Paul Mba Abesole, leader of the other major opposition party, the National Rally of Lumbermen [Lumberjacks] (RNB), said he did not support Agondjo-Okawe's call for a boycott, adding he was in favour of presidential elections before local elections. "We would rather use the summit to denounce the dictatorial behaviour of Omar Bongo's regime, and tell France how the Gabonese intend to run their country," he told journalists.

## Rwanda

### Nsengiyaremye Returns From Tanzania, Comments

EA1107070092 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale  
de la Republique Rwandaise in Kinyarwanda  
1700 GMT 10 Jul 92

[Report by Amabilis Sibomana]

[Excerpt] Prime Minister Dr. Dismas Nsengiyaremye returned to Kigali tonight at 1730 from a visit to the United Republic of Tanzania. Prime Minister Dr. Dismas Nsengiyaremye describes the main results of the visit:

[Begin recording] The main thing is that I was able to meet His Excellency Brother Ali Hassan Mwinyi, the president of the United Republic of Tanzania, to whom I conveyed greetings from his colleague, the president of the Rwandan Republic. I briefed him about the situation

in our country and the problem of war with which we are faced and to which we are trying to find an urgent solution.

I explained to him the way we see the problem and told him that we were going to have discussions with the Rwandan Patriotic Front rebels in Arusha in Tanzania and requested him to help us by giving us wise advice and also by explaining to those with whom we will be holding the discussions that this is an important problem which needs an urgent solution through negotiations.

The president of the United Republic of Tanzania assured me on his behalf and on behalf of his government that he would assist us and that the path of negotiations we have opted for is the right one and that he would support it. He also said that either side should approach him over problems in order for a lasting solution to be found. I also held talks with the Tanzanian prime minister, His Excellency John Malecela, and our discussions focused on bilateral cooperation. [passage omitted] [end recording]

#### Minister Says Rebels Shelling Camps for Displaced

EA1107145592 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale  
de la Republique Rwandaise in French 0430 GMT  
11 Jul 92

[Text] At the war front in northern Rwanda, rebels are intensifying the war as negotiations are gathering momentum.

But one particular aspect of it, according to Defense Minister Dr. James Gasana, is that the rebels fighters are primarily attacking spots where displaced people are staying. This is the case of the Miyove camp for the displaced, at which two shells have been fired. The Rwandan Armed Forces are doing everything possible to protect the camp and to stop the rebels from attacking others.

According to the minister of defense, the rebels have yet to gain control of any commune. He admitted, however, that there are cases of enemy infiltration into some communes. The minister said, quote, strictly speaking, we cannot talk of occupied areas but of areas of insecurity which the enemy has infiltrated and where fighting is located, unquote.

#### Minister, Envoy Discuss Clandestine Radio

EA1107201092 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale  
de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1100 GMT  
11 Jul 92

[Excerpt] On 10 July, the minister of information, Dr. Pascal Ndengejeho, met Burundi's ambassador to Rwanda, Marc Nteturuye. The Rwandan [as heard] diplomat conveyed to Minister Ndengejeho an invitation from his Burundi counterpart to make a working visit to Burundi in order to evaluate possibilities for

promoting Rwandan-Burundian relations in the area of radio and TV broadcasting by means of program exchanges.

Moreover, Ambassador Nteturuye expressed to his interlocutor the concern of the Burundi authorities over a pirate radio which carried out a campaign against Burundi from Rwandan territory.

Minister Ndengejeho informed the Burundi diplomat that extensive searches had been carried out throughout the nation using appropriate equipment but that they had failed to find any sign of a clandestine radio.

On this occasion, he renewed the firm determination of the Rwandan Government to improve the atmosphere of Rwandan-Burundian relations in the framework of its policy of good-neighborliness. For his part, the Burundi diplomat explained to the Rwandan minister of information the progress of the democratization process to which Burundi has been committed for more than one year. According to the Burundi ambassador, Burundian authorities are satisfied with the progress already made. [passage omitted]

#### Curfew Imposed on Kigali Suburbs After Clashes

AB1307081092 London BBC World Service  
in English 1705 GMT 12 Jul 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] In the Rwandan capital, Kigali, there have been violent clashes between supporters of rival political parties. The clashes involved supporters of the MRND [National Revolutionary Development Movement] party of President Habyarimana and the MDR [Democratic Republican Movement] party. There were serious riots involving both parties in Kigali at the end of May. Ironically, both parties are working together in a transitional government designed to steer the country toward multiparty democracy. On the latest violence, Ali Yusuf Meganzi telexed this report from Kigali:

[Begin studio announcer recording] Last night, Radio Rwanda reported that the suburbs of Gikondo, Kityukiriwa, and Kimuhorura had been put under curfew from 7 o'clock in the evening. This follows clashes in the capital which began last Thursday [9 July] night and continued yesterday when security forces managed to bring the situation under control. However, a number of people had been injured and a lot of property has been destroyed. Eyewitnesses said that the followers of the MRND and the MDR parties who were involved in the clashes used knives, machetes, stones, and sticks in the fighting. The cause of the clashes has not yet been determined but both sides are blaming each other.

The clashes come just 45 days after the first political crisis in Kigali which resulted in the death of one person and the injury of 34 others.



Meanwhile, the prisoners in the Kibunga Prefecture prison in the eastern part of Rwanda have taken hostage two prison wardens and burned documents in the jail. The prisoners are demanding to talk to the minister of justice. Last night, Radio Rwanda said the striking prisoners have damaged a lot of materials in the prison. Yesterday, negotiations began between the prisoners who had climbed the walls of the jail and the prison officials who were on the ground. [end recording]

#### **Rebel Radio Urges Armed Forces To Stop Fighting**

EA0907144092 (Clandestine) Radio Muhabura  
in Kinyarwanda to Rwanda 0415 GMT 5 Jul 92

[Station commentary]

[Text] Before the war that began on 1 October 1990, the government of the Second Republic had continued to overlook the problems facing Rwanda. In fact, it even invented others. We can give the example of the bad leadership which was encouraged instead of corrected, the tribalism which was strengthened, and the regionalism which became part of government policy. (Quarrels) and the refugee problem became more pronounced among Rwandans.

Instead of trying to achieve unity among Rwandans, the government preferred to implement policies designed to divide Rwandans along tribal and religious lines. These policies were taught in grade and high schools. Divisionism became synonymous with ethnic and regional balancing in schools and places of work. Injustice became official policy in Rwanda.

Concerning the question of Rwandan refugees, the government continued to disregard it, despite the fact that the world continued to remind it of the need to solve the issue. The government authorities lied by saying that Rwanda was too small to be home for all Rwandans to the extent that, after independence, a Ministry for Refugees was created and charged with asking the refugees who were in Nyamata [Rwanda] whether they wanted to go to Burundi, Uganda, or Zaire.

Well you know what happened in 1972. This was a follow-up of the government policy to divide Rwandans and (send) others outside the country. The criminal act was clear in schools, colleges, in the university, and in the countryside. President Habyarimana himself, when he visited Uganda in 1986, visited Rwandans living in the Luwero area and advised them to apply for Ugandan citizenship because, he said, Rwanda had nowhere to settle them. Rwandans living outside the country tried several times to ask for a meeting with the government so that they could discuss their problems but the government ignored them.

For example, in 1982 Rwandans wrote a memorandum asking that the issue be examined at a meeting which was organized in Nairobi, Kenya. The Rwandan Government opposed this. Another example is when Rwandans called for a meeting in Washington, United States, and

invited the Rwandan Government. The government refused the invitation. Instead it sent emissaries and lots of money to stop other Rwandans from various areas from taking part in the meeting.

Other things which prove that the government persevered to keep Rwandans outside the country is the case of an old man called Gahiti who returned home and was killed. Rwandans who left Uganda in 1982 because of persecution were mistreated and some were even killed such as Rwiganga, while others were chased away. Everybody knows the old man Ngumbe who [word indistinct] in the country where he had taken refuge. All this could not encourage any refugee to return home.

When the war started, the authorities rushed to say that the country had been invaded by foreigners. They ignored the fact that it had become necessary for Rwandans inside and outside the country to fight the government which had caused problems in the country. They spread the word that the country had been attacked by foreigners. During the meetings which followed, the government explained to the world and to its neighbors that the refugee question was being studied and was about to be solved. They forgot that they had ignored the question and other questions such as democracy and human rights.

In two days of war, due to lack of understanding on the part of government forces of the kind of war we were waging, the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF] soldiers seized many weapons, heavy and light ones, and other military equipment such as that seized in Gabiro and other areas. While the war was spreading to several areas in the north of the country, officials announced that they had won the war on 30 October 1990 and that they were mopping up the few rebels who got lost in Kagera Park. It is worth recalling that when the war started an order was given to kill and jail all those opposing the government. This shows that they had not understood that the war which had started was a war among Rwandans and that it arose from many issues related to the rights and life of every Rwandan. They were quick to say that the war was being waged by Rwandans outside the country, especially Tutsi refugees who intended to bring back the king.

As the war progressed, the causes of the war became clearer [words indistinct] weapons or ammunition, they would not be asking themselves where the rebels were getting weapons from. They also said that the RPF forces came from National Resistance Army forces.

In other instances they complained about Zaire and Burundi saying that they were sending forces to join the rebels. They even announced the names of those who were caught in Rwanda on the way to joining the rebel front. All Rwandans, those inside and outside the country—Hutus, Twas, and Tutsis—have decided to liberate their country. That is why they are among the rebels. No

one can deny that the more Rwandans understand the situation, the more they support the rebels in a bid to liberate their motherland.

The efforts to explain to Rwandans and to search for ways of studying and finding solutions to problems facing their country will continue in all possible ways starting with peaceful means.

The other thing that the Rwandan officials kept on lying about is that the Rwandan Armed Forces are protecting the sovereignty of the country and are vigilant. Everybody knows the seriousness of the war. Rwandan forces are tired of fighting because they have also understood that they are fighting brothers. This is what is said by those captured at the front. Others now see much more clearly because of their many friends who have died at the front without any reason. That is why the Armed Forces hope very much for talks, judging from what Lieutenant Colonel Bizimungu told the prime minister when he was visiting the Armed Forces in Ruhengeri.

We get scared when we hear what the captured Rwandan Armed Forces tell us. For example they say that they are forced to fight even when it is clear that fighting is like suicide. Instead they are told to ignore the dead and injured among the Armed Forces, so they go forward and that is why they usually leave behind their dead and injured comrades where they have fallen. The other thing they say is that they are advised them to kill themselves, for example by blowing themselves up with grenades, whenever they are about to be captured and even finish up among the injured. They also say that they are brought to the front before they even finish their training after being fooled that they are coming to do some training exercises.

Therefore, Rwandan Armed Forces, you should reject these evil deeds. Our message is that you should refuse to be fooled into fighting for those who do not wish our country well. Those who voluntarily joined the rebels and all those who were captured greet you. Their messages and those of other rebels will keep on reaching you through Radio Muhabura.

#### **Rebel Radio Views Cause of 'Fratricidal War'**

EA1107170692 (Clandestine) Radio Muhabura  
in Kinyarwanda to Rwanda 1715 GMT 8 Jul 92

[Butera Ndayizeye commentary]

[Excerpts] Brothers, as we have just said, we would like to examine the cause of the fratricidal war which has lasted for almost two years. In this program we shall study the words and thoughts of some high-ranking officials of the country, especially those in the Armed Forces, because we believe that they know the truth about the war. They are the ones who hold the key to whether the war continues or ends, as they are the ones who are fighting it. [passage omitted]

A big lie they put forward, which will never help them achieve anything, is about the talks between the government and the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF]. Senior officers who are also part of the government show clearly the little trust they have in the invincible fighters. They are also trying to make citizens understand that we should not be trusted, while saying at the same time that the forthcoming talks will lead nowhere. They refer to the fact, as they see it, that the RPF attacked Byumba while the RPF and the Rwandan Government were holding talks in Paris, as evidence of the bad faith and bad nature of the invincible fighters.

At this point, we should say that the Rwandan Government is ignoring some facts so as to mislead those who do not understand the facts about the talks. What they know and should not ignore [words indistinct] is that we attacked Byumba after learning of their plan to attack us; we preempted their attack. In addition, they had attacked our positions in Mutara region the previous day.

It is worth recalling that what happened between the RPF and leaders of some opposition parties should not be called talks, in the same sense as what we held with the government. The talks were aimed at helping us to get to know each other because what was previously known about the invincible fighters was what the National Revolutionary Movement for Development, the former ruling party, had been saying about us which had nothing to do with the truth.

In addition, at the talks, no serious agreements, such as those related to the current war, could be reached because the parties did not represent the government, which alone can make the decisions. Therefore, meeting some parties could change nothing at the war front [words indistinct].

The other thing we can say is that meetings alone, even with the government, are not enough to stop the war. There must be an agreement that the belligerents stop fighting as from such and such a time and the modalities of a cease-fire must be agreed upon. As long as there is no agreement the war will continue. This signing of a cease-fire agreement has not happened and it is one of the things that we must agree upon at the forthcoming meeting in Arusha, Tanzania.

What was their objective in lying to the people about the invincible fighters? They also said that though they talk about talks, nothing will come out of them because no one should believe the invincible fighters. They tell you to remember that Kampala was captured as talks were going on. What do they want to achieve by saying this?

[Words indistinct] they also say that whatever happens the talks will lead to nothing because the invincible fighters are not trustworthy. Why are they prejudging events? Why can they not allow the talks to take place and then see? Could they not be the ones who are planning to make them fail so that when they indeed fail they can say: You see, what we told you has happened.

They say that the proof of this is that Kampala was captured as talks were being held. What is their message here? That Kigali is about to fall? That talks are meaningless? As they are high-ranking officers they must know more about this but are not providing any explanations.

If one takes into account what these men say, we find that they have plans to torpedo the talks so as to prolong the war because of their vested interests. So they tell citizens that all efforts to torpedo the talks are being made by the invincible fighters. You should understand that the people who claim that the war is tough for them and that they have no hope of winning it and later start preparing to torpedo the talks by spreading the fighting so that the war continues, enjoy the war which is killing others.

All this shows you that there are those who would like to see the war continue. These are the people who are accustomed to pillaging the country, and anybody who opposes them is jailed or killed. Now that Rwandans have become tired and taken up arms to fight for their rights, all these senior Army officers—as if they had realized that their good times were coming to an end—are trying to prolong the war as much as possible. [passage omitted]

### Zaire

#### Prime Minister Discusses Appointment Issue

AB1107123692 London BBC World Service  
in English 1705 GMT 9 Jul 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] For the first time since it was set up last year, Zaire's national conference seems to be making some progress. Its chairman, Monsignor Monsengwo, thinks it can complete most of its work by the end of July after a stormy time interrupted by riots, by the intervention of President Mobutu and his prime minister, Nguz a Karl-I-Bond. The main tussle at the moment is who should choose the prime minister. The national conference thinks they should. President Mobutu says that exceeds the conference's mandate. Well, Ofeibea Quist-Arcton caught up with Nguz a Karl-I-Bond at the OAU summit in Dakar. And this is how he felt about the conference choosing the prime minister, particularly as it might cost him his job.

[Begin recording] [Karl-I-Bond] Well, I just hope that we can, in the national conference, come to establish new constitutions, democratic institutions. Then, if you speak about the new prime minister, it might be myself or another. It does not matter for me. Really, what matters for me is that this must be discussed around a table of concessions and when the dialogue designs a new prime minister, I will certainly accept it. And if it is me, I will accept it, but it must be dialogue between all of us, but without passion.

[Quist-Arcton] You say without passion, but that is very difficult in Zaire, because the opposition and the people who are protesting Mobutu are always calling. The president himself has already again put the spanner in the work, saying to the national conference: Your mandate is limited; I am the one who chooses the prime minister. Isn't this just going to cause more problems in Zaire? That is what happened last year after Tshisekedi was elected and then sacked by the president.

[Karl-I-Bond] Let us say this, Monsignor Monsengwo is a bit difficult. Certainly, but he is a great man. He will manage to find a path to find a solution between what President Mobutu has said and what the opposition is saying and we are not far really from a solution.

[Quist-Arcton] But President Mobutu has given a very clear warning that he, as the president, has the mandate to decide his prime minister. Is this not going to cause any problems again?

[Karl-I-Bond] But he spoke in French and then he spoke in Lingala. Of course, in French, he said exactly what you are saying. But in Lingala, he said that he was ready to discuss with the national conference around a table of dialogue which is already something else.

[Quist-Arcton] So, is President Mobutu talking to the people at home for domestic consumption and then saying a different thing for the international audience?

[Karl-I-Bond] No, what I say is this. It is that since Monsignor Monsengwo is accepting that whatever decision is made by the national conference, he is pushing, he is trying to discuss with the leaders in the national conference to understand that they should not push President Mobutu out, and try to find in the transition, a solution between the national conference and President Mobutu. This is monsignor's position. And I would say personally that he is very realistic. [end recording]



## Djibouti

### Sentencing, Pardoning of Opposition Leaders Noted

#### Bourhan Sentenced to 10 Years

EA1207194592 Djibouti Radio Djibouti in Somali  
0330 GMT 12 Jul 92

[Excerpt] Last night Djibouti's national security court handed down sentences against the Ali Aref Bourhan men who were accused of plotting a coup with the intention to overthrow the government. Last night at 2030 the security court sentenced Ali Aref Bourhan and eight others to 10 years rigorous imprisonment. The other eight sentenced to 10 years are:

1. Abubakr Mohammed Abbas
2. Mohammed Ali Moumin (Iseytu)
3. Mohammed (Hasoleh Aba-Keri)
4. Ahmad-Diin Mooyaleh
5. Mohammed (Booha) Ali
6. (Urbiso) Mohammed Ali
7. Mohammed Moussa Balatou
8. Mohammed Ahmad Yusuf

The security court also sentenced others to five years imprisonment for playing a part in the coup and other acts to destabilize the country. They are as follows:

1. Mohammed Ahmad (Adruh), alias Mengistu
2. Bahloul Abdalla Isa
3. Mohammed Adan Abubakr
4. Mohammed Da'ud (Shihim)
5. Abdalla Ali Mohammed

The sentences were handed down following court proceedings which lasted a week, and reading out charges and passing sentence took eight hours. Not in court, however, were 47 others, who were sentenced to five years in prison. They were allowed to [words indistinct] within three days. The court did not hand down sentences against 22 people in exile. Last night the court acquitted (Metir Arouf) Mohammed (Arouf) for lack of evidence. [passage omitted]

#### Exiles Pardoned

AB1107192092 Paris AFP in French 2138 GMT  
9 Jul 92

[Text] Djibouti, 9 Jul (AFP)—Djibouti President Hassan Gouled Aptidon today pardoned one of his leading opponents, Aden Robleh Awaleh, who is now living in exile in France. Four other supporters of the latter,

including a former member of Parliament, Omar Elmi Khaireh, were also pardoned, Radio Djibouti announced.

The measure is part of the general amnesty decreed last month by the Djibouti authorities. The other three opponents who have been pardoned are Awaleh Guelleh Assoweh, Mohamed Ali Areita, and Omar Hassa Ali.

Mr. Awaleh was sentenced to life in absentia on 7 September 1986 for breach of state security, attempted murders, and possession of firearms. He had fled the country five months earlier in the company of Mr. Khaireh and first sought refuge in Ethiopia and then in France, where he has been living ever since.

A former leader of the Somali Coast Liberation Front from 1970 until Djibouti's independence in June 1977, Mr. Awaleh was a minister of trade, transport, and tourism from October 1978 to March 1983. It was even hinted, at one point, that he would succeed President Aptidon, before he fell out of favor in March 1983 as a result of the financial scandal involving the national airline "Air Djibouti," which forced him to resign.

From March 1983 until his departure into exile, he was engaged in covert opposition activities against the government, within the sole party, the People's Rally for Progress [RPP], of which he was the second vice chairman. He was expelled from the RPP political committee just before he fled the country.

During his exile in France, Mr. Awaleh formed the Djibouti National Movement for the Establishment of Democracy, which was renamed the National Democratic Party this year. As a result of some differences of opinion, his former companion, Omar Elmi Khaireh, formed the Front for Democratic Forces.

This pardon has come at a time when Ali Aref Bourhan, the ex-president of the governing council of the former French territory of Afars and Issas, is being tried at the state security court.

[Djibouti Radio Djibouti at 1700 GMT on 10 July then carried the following report: "The Government of France has welcomed the decree in which the president of the Republic of Djibouti offered an amnesty yesterday to five members of the Djibouti opposition in exile. A spokesman for the French Foreign Ministry said today that the step taken by President Hasan Gouled Aptidon expressed the positive will of the leadership of the Republic of Djibouti to continue along the path of stability, political openness, and reconciliation. Although the government has previously taken steps related to these matters, the French spokesman said that his government will continue with its call for action to bring about understanding and that it has high hopes that everyone will contribute to this."]

## Ethiopia

### Aferwerki Cited on Domestic, Foreign Policy

PM1007102292 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT  
in Arabic 7 Jul 92 p 3

[Unattributed report on interview with Isaias Afewerki, head of the provisional Eritrean government, by Taj-al-Din 'Abd-al-Haq in Abu Dhabi; date not given]

[Excerpts] Isaias Afewerki, head of the provisional Eritrean government, has said that he is pinning hopes on his country's relations with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and hopes that they will develop in coming period. [passage omitted]

Asked whether a national reconciliation conference needed to be held before the referendum on Eritrean independence next year, the head of the provisional Eritrean government said: "We do not believe that there are any differences which would prompt us to conduct a national reconciliation. The differences were settled the minute Eritrea was liberated, and what we are facing now is a clear political issue, namely, the referendum. The choice concerning this issue is clear; it is between independence and nonindependence. I do not think that there are any differences among the Eritreans on this question. [passage omitted]

On the provisional Eritrean government's position on the military clashes between the ruling revolutionary front in Addis Ababa and the Oromo front and the effect of these disputes on the arrangements for the referendum on Eritrean independence, Afewerki said: "These battles have been going on for a long time and political differences are natural in the circumstances experienced by Ethiopia after Mengistu's downfall and the establishment of a government involving many forces of a security and nationalist nature." [passage omitted]

Afewerki ruled out Eritrea's involvement in the disputes between the Ethiopian Government and the Oromo front. He said: "Our relations with both sides are equal and there is no bias toward one side or against the other." He pointed out that this Eritrean position is not new; it is a constructive position which contributes—with the help of other states and political forces—to settling the dispute between the ruling Ethiopian front and the Oromo front. [passage omitted]

Asked about Eritrea's relations with Israel, the existence of contacts between the two sides, and whether Eritrea was contemplating establishing diplomatic relations with Israel, Afewerki said: "Eritrea will build relations with all states, regardless of their policies and what kind of regime they have."

Asked whether that meant that Eritrea will establish diplomatic relations with Israel, he said: "With all states, including South Africa, the United States, and Russia."

Asked about Red Sea security, the head of the provisional Eritrean government said that he did not believe that there was any reason to worry about Red Sea security, especially since the end of the Cold War and the lessening of rivalry between the superpowers, "which had a negative impact on security in the region." [passage omitted]

## Kenya

### Moi Says 'No Provision' for Coalition Government

EA1107145092 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting  
Corporation Network in English 1000 GMT 11 Jul 92

[Excerpt] His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi today said there was no provision for a coalition government in the Kenya Constitution. The president said it was the winning party in the next general elections that will constitutionally form the government.

President Moi was speaking at Nakuru State House when he received a goodwill delegation from Kisumu rural constituency. The delegation was led by the local MP, who is also the minister for foreign affairs and international cooperation, Mr. Wilson Ndolo Ayah.

The president also said the parastatals which have been floated for sale should be bought by wananchi [citizens] in order to have the economy remain in the hands of Kenyans.

President Moi also added that in order to ensure that the wealth remained in the hands of Kenyans, local investors must be mobilized and encouraged to buy them. He expressed satisfaction that some members of the opposition had recognized the importance of ensuring that parastatals went to the hands of wananchi. He urged Kenyans to cultivate positive attitudes towards property ownership so that they do not ostracize those who strive to own property. The president said indigenous people should encourage and assist each other in ensuring success in business ventures. [passage omitted]

### Saitoti Says No Political Detainees in Kenya

EA1107204092 Nairobi KNA in English 1625 GMT  
11 Jul 92

[Excerpts] London, 11th July (KNA)—The vice-president and minister for finance Prof George Saitoti Thursday night [9 July] addressed British/Kenya parliamentary group in London, and highlighted the current political and economic development in the country. The vice-president informed the parliamentarians that the reforms have not just started but have been an ongoing process.

He reiterated that Kenya Government has never been opposed to political pluralism. However, Prof Saitoti added, the introduction of multi-party [politics] and the development thereafter should be left for Kenyans to decide. [passage omitted]

Prof Saitoti also told the parliamentarians that there was not a single political detainee in Kenya.

The vice-president expressed government commitment to fighting corruption, as is clearly manifested by the introduction of [the] anti-corruption act to check on the malpractice.

Prof Saitoti said that since the introduction of multi-parties in January 1992 the opposition had been afforded the opportunity to propagate their agenda all over the country and their meetings were also given ample coverage by the local media.

The vice-president also informed that presidential and parliamentary elections will be held not later than March next year, in keeping with constitutional provisions, and that they will be fair and free to allow Kenyans to choose people of their choice. [passage omitted]

The vice-president informed the parliamentarians that the introduction of multi-parties came with its problems and gave an example of the clashes in some parts of the country.

He defended the government from accusations that it was involved in the clashes. He said that the primary responsibility of any government was to protect the welfare and security of its citizens and there was no way the KANU [Kenya African National Union] government could have been involved in fomenting instability. The vice-president said the government had contained the ugly situation and calm had been restored in the affected areas.

The vice-president noted that the opposition in Kenya had adopted politics of confrontation rather than tackling serious issues of development in the country. Prof Saitoti appraised the MPs on the influx of refugees into Kenya from neighbouring countries and the drought situation in the country. He said the influx of refugees had adversely affected the economy and appealed for international support. [passage omitted]

#### **Matiba To Vie for FORD Chairmanship**

*EA1007214092 Nairobi KTN Television in English  
1600 GMT 10 Jul 92*

[Excerpts] Presidential hopeful Kenneth Matiba today declared that he would be vying for the top leadership of FORD [Forum for the Restoration of Democracy]. Addressing a press conference flanked by followers, Matiba said that he would seek the chairmanship of the party, a position currently held by Jaramogi Oginga Odinga.

He also pointed out the need to elect the leaders of the party by party members and not through the delegate system, disputing the high figure running into tens of millions [of shillings] that some FORD activists had placed on a national election. [passage omitted]

Matiba said in the event of losing in the FORD elections he would support the winner, and so expected to be supported by the losers if he won.

#### **France Decides To Resume Economic Aid**

*EA1107152092 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting  
Corporation Network in English 1000 GMT 11 Jul 92*

[Excerpt] France has decided to resume economic aid to Kenya. Paris and other international donors suspended economic aid to Kenya since last November. The announcement was made by the French ambassador to Kenya, Mr. Michel de Bonnacorse, yesterday. He also explained that the French aid this year should not be less than 500 million shillings.

A World Bank consultative group consisting of Kenya's main donors, including France, decided in Paris last November to suspend decisions on future aid for six months awaiting Kenyan Government adjustments.

The French ambassador told AFP that his country welcomed the political changes that have occurred in Kenya over the last few months and that a meeting between the two countries would be held this month to decide on new French-financed projects.

In the meantime, a UN official has appealed to the donor community and other multi-national organizations that had withheld aid to Kenya to disburse it, as Kenya was one of the few countries in Africa that had invested a great deal in human development. The official, (Mahbub ul Haq), a special advisor to the administrator of the UNDP [United Nations Development Program], urged the international donor community not to judge the Kenyan Government too unfairly and promised to argue the case on behalf of the Kenyan Government. He was addressing reporters in Nairobi yesterday when he was deliberating on the human development report launched last April. [passage omitted].

#### **Somalia**

##### **Spokesman on 'Utter Surprise' at UN Criticism**

*EA1007204592 Mogadishu Voice of the Somali  
Republic in Somali 0430 GMT 10 Jul 92*

[Text] A spokesman from the Office of the President of the Somali Republic has expressed utter surprise at a call from a faction of those who claim to be responsible officials for immediately stopping the deployment of the UN peace-keeping force monitoring the cease-fire and supervising the distribution of relief food to needy Somalis.

The spokesman said the United Nations was the first group to come to the aid of the Somali people to help stop the bloodletting and to work for a peaceful solution to the Somali problem. The spokesman noted the problems which could result from a UN withdrawal from the country, saying that such a move could be catastrophic



and bring uncertainty to the lives of Somalis. The spokesman warned that should the deployment of the UN peace-keeping force be halted, it could also mean the ending of humanitarian assistance to Somalis. The spokesman continued by saying that the deployment of the UN peace-keeping force was in the interest of Somalis and their well-being.

The spokesman went on to say that the interim government, realizing its obligation regarding maintenance of peace and security, had embarked on forming a national salvation force to enforce security and stability and to ensure that food aid reaches those for whom it is intended, something which up to now has succeeded. [sentence as heard]

The spokesman said it was shocking to learn that a clique with dubious intentions has chosen to criticize and oppose the uniform worn by the UN peace-keeping force, which is their insignia.

The interim government has succeeded in circulating a national currency in order to aid the nation's economic recovery since currency is the legal tender used in trading and to save the country from plunging into the Dark Ages. In those days people bartered because there was no monetary system. The spokesman accused the selfish clique of intending to create division and confusion among the people. He said that it is irresponsible to label the nation's currency counterfeit currency.

The spokesman expressed gratitude to the United Nations for its efforts in serving Somalis and appealed to it to disregard the accusation being hurled against it by those who have no interest in their people. Finally, the spokesman warned Somalis to be on the alert against the intrigues and designs of the selfish clique out to mislead them.

#### **USC Official on Entry of Counterfeit Currency**

*EA1107210092 Mogadishu Radio Mogadishu  
in Somali 1700 GMT 11 Jul 92*

[Excerpt] Senior Pilot Abdi Osman Farah, the vice chairman of the United Somali Congress [USC], held a news conference in his office on the struggle and successive victories gained by the Somali Liberation Army [SLA] organizations which are fighting for justice and which succeeded in kicking dictator Siad Barre and his supporters out of the country.

He said that the country's regions and districts are normal but that there is economic destruction in all regions and districts which were liberated from Siad Barre. He appealed to international organizations to dispatch humanitarian aid to the needy and also to visit areas with problems. He said the fighting which has been going on in Mogadishu for four months was caused by counterfeit money brought into the country by the self-appointed Manifesto Group.

The money could not help the needy. He said that we called upon the international community to suspend currency

exports pending the formation of a coalition government, but unfortunately, this did not take place. A Soviet plane brought this money in from Britain to Nairobi, Kenya, where the plane was handed over to UNICEF which officially brought the money into Mogadishu.

On the problem with this money, Senior Pilot Abdi Osman Farah said that apart from economic collapse, the community is now on the verge of taking up arms after the self-appointed group tried to force the people to take this money. This could threaten peace. The Manifesto Group planned to take over the country's currency. The fact that the exchange rate of the dollar in northern Mogadishu is very high proves this.

Senior Pilot Abdi Osman Farah concluded his speech by calling on the international organizations and those countries who back the importation of this counterfeit money into the country to stop doing so.

Mr. Abdalkarim Ahmad Ali, the USC secretary general, also spoke during the news conference about the cease-fire in Mogadishu. He said that it came about because the Somali people wanted it. He clarified that Somalia needs general reconstruction and that existing problems should be tackled.

He disclosed that foreign troops who are against the wishes of the Somali people cannot bring about peace in the country. He said he is making it clear to the United Nations that no further war will take place in Mogadishu while the SLA organizations who are fighting for justice are calling for a national conference prior to ensuring peace. He said that the USC has decided to suspend the UN peace-keeping group after the UN appeared to take sides on the affairs of Somalia. [passage omitted]

#### **Manifesto Supporters Said To Have Killed 27**

*EA1207204092 Mogadishu Radio Mogadishu  
in Somali 1700 GMT 12 Jul 92*

[Text] A huge rally, involving religious leaders, intellectuals, youth, and women was held in Kaaran, Mogadishu. SONNA reporter Abbas Mohamed Noor Galayr covered the rally and reported that the demonstrators were protesting about the problems brought about by counterfeit money in terms of ruining their businesses and lives. The demonstrators shouted slogans such as "We do not want the money," "Let us be free from the constant killing," and "Kaaran should be integrated into Mogadishu."

Our reporter added that the demonstrators marched through the two biggest streets in Kaaran after which they converged at Kaaran's square, opposite the former district headquarters. Speakers from the clergy, intellectuals, and wise men of Kaaran district addressed the rally.

Abbas Mohamed Noor Galayr also added that 27 demonstrators were killed by the Manifesto supporters. These people were killed after they demanded that the counterfeit money should not be imposed on the people. Many Muslims who attended the rally expressed their utter displeasure at these heinous acts.

### Tanzania

#### ANC Turns Over Settlements to Government

MB1007195392 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1852 GMT 10 Jul 92

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by the African National Congress, ANC: "Handover Ceremony of the ANC Settlements Mazimbu and Dakawa to the People and Government of Tanzania"]

[Text] Oliver Tambo, on behalf of the ANC, yesterday handed to Ali Hassan Mwinyi, the president of Tanzania, the ANC settlements of Mazimbu and Dakawa.

The ceremony with 300 guests took place in Mazimbu, itself, which is situated 200kms south west of Dar es Salaam.

The people of Tanzania are inheriting from the ANC the two largest educational establishments built by the ANC. They include creches, primary and secondary schools, a vocational training centre, in addition to a fully comprehensive small hospital, 2 farms and a number of small industries, which supported the communities, allowing for greater self-reliance. By 1990 the two communities had grown to about 4,600.

For those involved in the struggle Mazimbu and Dakawa have symbolised the beginnings of a new democratic South Africa, where communities lived and worked in harmony, with equal opportunity and education free from prejudice and oppression.

Mazimbu, the first and largest settlement was begun in 1977, expressly for the purpose of providing a just and relevant education for the masses of youths who fled the country after the uprising of 1976. All had suffered from the inequities of bantu education and interrupted schooling. The school, Somafo, named after the first executive MK [Spear of the Nation; ANC military wing] combatant Solomon Mahlangu, was begun under the trees but by 1990 it boasted a well equipped creche, primary and secondary school, the latter with 9 modern science, technical, arts and classroom blocks, full dormitory units, multi-purpose hall and library. The schools catered for over a thousand students.

Dakawa, begun in 1982 focused upon adult and vocational education, offering skills in plumbing, electricity, carpentry and construction besides literacy, language and basic studies.

In order to further develop ANC members skills and to support the two communities 2 farms were established, reputed to be the most modern in Tanzania, and small

industries such as a carpentry and garment factories, leather, welding and print and textile workshops and a tailoring unit.

The ANC-Holland Solidarity Hospital comprises outpatient facilities (averaging 3,500 per month), X-ray department, 2 operating theatres, pharmacy and fully equipped laboratory.

The ANC built these impressive settlements from scratch. The land, untamed natural bush, was generously donated by the Tanzanian Government. All the basic infra-structure of water, electricity, sewerage had to be laid. When one sees the beautifully laid out and well maintained settlements one cannot but marvel at the success of this ambitious feat.

Besides the construction, was the fact that all these programmes and institutions were run by ANC members, offering a great learning experience for all who lived there in preparation for playing a valuable role in a future South Africa.

Somafo school initiated a new and relevant curriculum, which shall be of value in a new South Africa.

Besides the ANC and Tanzanian delegations invited guests includes diplomatic representatives from Sweden, Norway, Finland, Denmark, India, Australia, Italy and Nigeria and representatives from the many and varied development, aid and solidarity organisations who had for so long have supported the liberation struggle.

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### Uganda

#### Museveni on Border Situation, Relations With RPF

AB1207212592 London BBC World Service  
in English 1705 GMT 12 Jul 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Throughout the Rwandan civil war, the Rwandan Government has always claimed that the RPF [Rwandan Patriotic Front] rebels were able to receive supplies and weapons through neighboring Uganda. The RPF launched their original invasion into northern Rwanda from Uganda at the beginning of the war. In Kampala today, Enna Patson asked the Ugandan president, Yoweri Museveni, whether it was true that Ugandans were allowing weapons for the RPF to pass through their territory.

[Begin recording] [Museveni] The thing to do is to eliminate the reason for the conflict rather than say we shall not resolve the conflict, but we shall starve one side of arms, because I do not think it will happen. If people have a cause they will get arms (?no matter) what it will cost.

[Patson] You know what is going on in your country. You know that the Rwandese rebels are based in Kampala, that they have press officers here who work out of the capital.

[Museveni] Well, I have not got that information. I know that there are some people who transit through here when they are going for the peace talks. And I know that there are some refugees who live here who may be sympathetic to these people. But about offices I do not know; I am not aware.

[Patson] Are you also unaware that the border is the easiest one to pass through the Ugandan-Rwandese border and that it is often used to route supplies through and personnel? [sentence as heard]

[Museveni] We, we have not closed the Rwanda border yet. We have not closed it. If we close it, people will die, will starve. Do you want us to close the border? Against whom are we closing the border? It is the population.

[Patson] Which population, where?

[Museveni] On both sides; on Rwanda side, and we have not closed the border, certainly, for things like food and so on.

[Patson] But a large proportion of the border along (Darit) is [word indistinct] civilians is occupied by the rebels.

[Museveni] But would you say that we should close the border? We should be going to that, because that is something else. I do not believe that closing the border is right. The only thing we should do is that arms should not go through. But things like food, like medicine, like what. It is not really our job to run Rwanda; our job is to maintain peace with all these neighboring countries.

[Patson] Can you really expect people to believe that you are impartial when these people belonging to the RPF, these rebels, were fighting on your side in 1985 and 1986?

[Museveni] But we did not need their support. Now they have gone there in Rwanda; we are here. We do not need them.

[Patson] You feel no obligation toward them?

[Museveni] No, no! Because there was no contract between us, and in fact, they brought us a problem by starting this war. I am under interrogation by you about this matter. If they had not started the problem, we would not be under this international scrutiny. So they did not help us. But what can we do about it?

[Patson] Do you envisage any role for the Ugandan Government in the peace talks that are taking place (?right now) between the rebels and the Rwandese Government?

[Museveni] Well, [words indistinct] just advice, if are asked. First of all, it is not our conflict.

[Patson] Are you hopeful there will be a peace settlement?

[Museveni] I really do not know. But I think they have no alternative except to (?reunite themselves) in Rwanda. They are all entitled to rule Rwanda; there is nobody who has more rights to Rwanda than anybody else. [end recording]

#### Museveni on 'Agitating for Party Politics'

EA1007200592 Kampala Radio Uganda Network  
in English 1900 GMT 9 Jul 92

[Excerpts] The Luwero triangle war veterans association has been launched by President Yoweri Museveni. The function took place this afternoon at Semuto in Luwero district. In his inaugural speech, Mr. Museveni praised the steps taken by the people of the triangle, comprising six districts. He said that with the association, it is going to be easy to assist the people of the area because when people work together, they achieve wider scopes of development. [passage omitted]

Turning to those who are agitating for party politics, President Museveni said that when the NRM [National Resistance Movement] came to power it was agreed with the parties that the period following the war should be used as a time for rehabilitation and convalescence because Uganda had been sick for so long. He expressed surprise that some elements are not adhering to the agreement. He reminded them that when RC's [resistance committees] were being elected, nobody was barred from participating in their system on account of one's past political party allegiance. Mr. Museveni therefore made it clear that the NRM, the NRA [National Resistance Army] and him as a freedom fighter will not allow anybody to (?derail) the peace which the people of Uganda are enjoying. Therefore, he added, the NRM gave hope to the people that they will be able to overcome their problems—we want to use this peaceful environment to develop all sectors.

President Museveni told the people of the triangle that they should not think that the government has forgotten them in as far as development is concerned. He explained to them that Uganda's economy has declined so much as is evidenced by lack of wealth in people's homes which naturally affects national wealth. He said that the government has (?chosen) to deal with the infrastructure followed by rehabilitating and building factories, especially in urban areas, so that the money earned from them would eventually trickle to develop rural areas like Luwero. [passage omitted]



**Pik Botha Leaves for Security Council Session**

*MB1207180792 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1749 GMT 12 Jul 92*

[Text] Johannesburg July 12 SAPA—The solution to the causes of violence in South Africa would not be found in New York, Dakar or Europe, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said on Sunday [12 July] night. He was speaking to journalists at Jan Smuts Airport shortly before his departure for New York where he is to attend a United Nations Security Council emergency debate on the violence in South Africa on Wednesday.

Although he welcomed the international community's interest in South Africa "no outsiders but South Africans themselves can resolve the problems facing this country", "We in South Africa are now an open society with open borders and we welcome fact-finding missions from all over the world. We also welcome foreign advice on how to curb the violence," Mr Botha said.

Referring to the African National Congress [ANC] delegation—headed by ANC President Nelson Mandela—also on their way to New York, Mr Botha said he expected the organisation would mount an assault on the South African Government at the Security Council meeting. "I welcome this opportunity to go and state the facts objectively and also to own up to our faults."

Asked what decisions he expected from the meeting, Mr Botha said he had no doubt the Security Council would tell South Africa to get back to the negotiating table.

In a lighter vein, Mr Botha quipped that he would not be taking any traditional weapons, except for the small pen knife which he always carried.

The foreign affairs delegation was scheduled to return to South Africa by the weekend depending on events in New York, Mr Botha's press secretary Awie Marais told SAPA.

**Officials Address National Party Youth Congress****De Klerk Views Economy**

*MB1007164992 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network  
in English 1600 GMT 10 Jul 92*

[Text] It's criminal to delay attracting foreign investments to South Africa. State President F.W. de Klerk told the National Party's Youth Congress at Stellenbosch that some political parties were guilty of doing so. Mr. de Klerk also referred to social upliftment, which he said posed an even greater challenge than finding a new constitution.

[Begin recording] [Reporter Carl Roos] Mr. de Klerk told his audience that South Africa would have a new constitution within one to two years. The most pressing challenge, however, was building the strong economy needed to effect the social upliftment.

[De Klerk] We need development. And for that we need foreign involvement. And in order to get foreign involvement we need stability. And in order to get stability we need an accord, a settlement, an agreement between the political leaders of this country. And if we want such an agreement we need to rise above our narrow party political interests. And we need to negotiate and talk and compromise. [end recording]

**Foreign Minister Speaks**

*MB1007195892 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1904 GMT 10 Jul 92*

[Text] Stellenbosch July 10 SAPA—Far from fearing the United Nations Security Council session on South Africa next week, it should be welcomed, Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha said on Friday [10 July] evening. "I have been to the Security Council on seven previous occasions, but it's different now. I can take my seat and put a case because apartheid is gone," he said at a dinner to close off the first National Party [NP] federal youth congress.

"In 1974 when I was a new ambassador, I said I could not defend discrimination based on the colour of a person's skin. Prime Minister John Vorster had to defend me on two occasions. Today I can go back to New York and say sorry it took so long, but I told you in 1974 it was coming."

He said he trusted that black South African leaders would also go to state their side of the story.

Referring to the deadlock in negotiations at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), Mr Botha said "we are now bogged down in negotiations with the African National Congress [ANC]".

"There is no such thing as a nut that won't loosen with the right oil. We must stay calm and fair. If the ANC has fair grievances, we will talk about them. I hope they will also realise that without power sharing there will be no real peace. When the NP is the majority party, we will also be prepared to share power."

He said people tended to forget how much progress had been made in the past four years - Namibia was still South West Africa, South Africa had to face growing isolation with UN resolutions becoming more severe, and South Africa was still at war with Angola. There were 50,000 Cuban troops in Angola, Moscow was the capital of the Soviet Union, and the Cold War was in progress.

"People don't remember how cold it was for South Africa. Now people freeze when a chilly wind blows, but there were times when the winter was much colder."

"If the country lands in a crisis, we must develop the ability to think ourselves out of it. We must first win mentally."

"We must place the past in perspective and remember how far we have come. Mental comparisons will show the vast distance forward we have moved."

He said the only way for the NP to become the majority party was to have a majority of black members.

The March 17 referendum had had a greater impact on Africa than on the United States or Japan. Africa now saw it as the spell which ended the indignity of blacks suffering under apartheid and were experiencing a sense of freedom. "That is why they look on South Africa as the most important power on the continent."

#### Secretary General Comments

MB1007201092 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1922 GMT 10 Jul 92

[Text] Stellenbosch July 10 SAPA—Intimidation, not violence, was the biggest enemy in South Africa, National Party [NP] Secretary-General Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said on Friday [10 July]. "It is bad enough when thousands of people die, but worse when this results in millions being afraid. Intimidation is dehumanising and takes away one's dignity when one lives in fear," he said at the NP federal youth congress.

The only way out was for the community itself to resist the intimidation of small groups. "The NP's task is to find a way out of this yoke. The irony is that the so-called freedom movements are enslaving the population in fear, and people are waiting to be freed from this. This is the huge task waiting for the NP, which is at present the only party standing in the way of total chaos."

Replying to a question whether the NP should not change its name, Dr van der Merwe said history did not provide good examples of parties in South Africa changing names. "The party's name may be changed, but the character stays the same. People know the NP will do as it promises and can be trusted. Our reputation is not altogether bad and there is much good, too, so I think we should think carefully before deciding to change our name."

#### Delpont Interviewed on Resuming Negotiations

MB1007183192 Johannesburg NEW NATION  
in English 10-16 Jul 92 p 13

[Interview with Tertius Delpont, deputy minister of constitutional development, by unidentified reporter; date and place not given—from the "Face the Nation" column: "Talking—The Only Solution"]

[Text] NEW NATION [NN]: What is the government planning to do to bring the negotiations process back on track?

Tertius Delpont: The first thing we would like to do is what the state president has proposed, and that is to get the three major leaders (Nelson) Mandela, (Mangosuthu) Buthelezi and (FW) de Klerk to meet and discuss the violence.

We want to talk because we believe that the only solution lies in talking to one another about all the so-called deadlocks.

NN: The National Party wants a power-sharing government for the future South Africa, yet it is now in power as a result of a majority-rule arrangement within the white electorate? Why the shift?

Tertius Delpont: Let us use the term multi-party democracy or multi-party government which, unlike power-sharing, are constitutional terms.

A multi-party democracy or multi-party government is achieved by means of concepts like federalism or regionalism, so that power is divided. Power is not kept for a majority party at central level alone. Another way in which multi-party democracy is achieved, is to use the principle of proportional representation, which means that even minority parties will be represented in parliament in proportion to the support each party gets from the electorate. A third way to achieve multi-party representation and participation is to have a coalition government which allows parties other than the majority party to have a say in government. This means that those minority parties could be represented in the cabinet.

This is what we have proposed and the criticism we are getting is that what we are talking about is a forced coalition.

Our answer to such criticism is that a constitution is always written for the needs of a country at a given period in its history. And what we believe South Africa now needs, is to show the world that our important leaders are indeed willing to set aside differences and to work towards national unity, reconciliation and reconstruction.

And we are proposing this for an interim period. In as far as the final constitution is concerned, we feel that it is going to be up to the constitution-making body to decide. I do not say for one moment that, in a number of years, we will still need that construction in the executive and in government.

NN: The government has proposed that the transitional government should have a life span of three years. Is it not possible to draft and adopt a new constitution in a shorter period?

Tertius Delpont: We have initially proposed that the transitional government should have an open-ended lifespan and that it should be up to those who will form that government to determine, according to their assessment of the country's needs at the time, whether to end that arrangement.

If we agree that we need a government of national unity, surely, there are deep reasons for opting for that form of government. The reasons are to get into a situation where we can inspire confidence in South Africa which is so necessary for us to have the type of economic growth we need to embark on a large scale upliftment programme. And I can not see such a government fulfilling its tasks in less than three years.

NN: Why has the NP proposed a rotating presidency for the country? Would this be practical?

Tertius Delpont: Yes, a rotating presidency would give essence to the notion of a government of national unity.

NN: The government has proposed that regional and local government be autonomous. What kind of autonomy are you talking about?

Tertius Delpont: We mean that they will have certain powers—not all powers—but certain powers that would be prescribed in the constitution. And what autonomy means, in this case, is that the central government can not take those powers away.

Such autonomy will also be subject to the Bill of Rights and to the general principles laid down in the constitution, such as provisions that there should be no discrimination, etc.

So, in other words, there could be no region or city that would be out of step with the rest of South Africa and able to practise discrimination or any form of domination.

NN: What role would the government want the international community to play in the negotiation process other than the observer status that several international organisations now have at Codesa?

Tertius Delpont: We think that they can monitor what is happening. We have no objection to international monitoring of violence and of investigations surrounding the violence.

We also have no objection, in principle, to monitoring of negotiations, but as far as taking part in our debates at the negotiating table, we have always stated that South Africa must solve its own problems. I do not see—if I can pick up a telephone and call an ANC leader—why I need someone from outside to mediate between us.

We can have the international community playing a more active role such as is the case with the Goldstone Commission, where there are international experts helping Justice Goldstone in his work.

**ANC Said Unable To Find New Home for Arms Pile**  
*MB1207143792 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES*  
*in English 12 Jul 92 p 2*

[By De Wet Potgieter: "ANC Quandary Over Arms Pile"]

[Text] Time is running out for the ANC [African National Congress] to move more than 27,000 tons of arms from Angola.

Senior ANC members based in Luanda warned National Executive Committee members at the end of February that the massive arsenal—which includes at least five Soviet tanks—had to be moved before the Angolan elections in September.

However, the ANC has not been able to find a host country willing to accept the arsenal, and has been given a July 31 deadline by the Angolan government to move

the arms or forfeit them to the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola].

The ANC was warned of this risk in a letter dated February 24 and signed by the ANC's former chief representative in Luanda, Fanie Phakola (alias MK Rufus), chief ordnance in Luanda Lister Sokhele (alias Makeke) and Nicholas Xabanisa.

The letter said: "We are facing a risk of losing all the materiel kept by Fapla [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] ... because of the political and military developments in this country. Our main concern is change in the top administration of the military. Our claim to this materiel is only known by the MPLA and the Fapla administration.

"As the control of the peace process here is not aware of the existence of foreign arms, the discovery may cause problems for the MPLA."

Copies of the letter and a full inventory were sent to ANC president Nelson Mandela, general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa and MK [Umkhonto we Sizwe, Spear of the Nation; ANC military wing] commander in chief Joe Modise.

As a result, an ANC delegation headed by Willie Williams, Jacob Chilwane and MK Che O'Gara visited Luanda on April 20.

Sources in Luanda have confirmed Mr Modise—who admitted the existence of the cache in Washington this week, despite earlier denials by ANC media spokesman Carl Niehaus—discussed the arms with MPLA representatives and with the Namibian government on a recent visit to Dakar.

The ANC's plan to move the arsenal to Namibia was foiled when the International Freedom Foundation revealed its existence towards the end of last month.

The alternative plan, to move the arms to Tanzania, is dependent on the ANC finding a cargo ship to transport them.

The weapons are being housed at Grafanil, next to the railway line to Viana, where the ANC used to have a transit camp.

The Sunday Times has a copy of the inventory. In addition to the five Soviet tanks, there are also five light armoured troop carriers and 15,400 armour-piercing shells. Also listed are:

430 Adrianov and artillery compasses, an AGS grenade launcher, a box of AK-47 night sights, 2,188 AK-47 rifles and 2.2-million rounds of ammunition, 899 M41 and M44 7.62mm carbines, 32 infantry binoculars, 727 Makarov pistols and 49,720 rounds of ammunition, 22 PKM company machineguns, six SVD Dragov snipers' rifles, 21 heavy calibre ZPU-1 14.55 machineguns, 1,575kg of TNT, 800kg of plastic explosives from Yugoslavia, 8,400 F-1 DIF hand-grenades, 5,690 82mm mortar shells, 15,400 armour-piercing shells, 19,442



anti-tank missiles, 13,908 anti-personnel landmines, 5,443 limpet mines, nine pieces of anti-tank guided missile control panels, six Strella missile trigger mechanisms, 462 RPG-7 rocket missiles, 4,284 PKG-3 anti-tank hand-grenades, 460 Nagan 7.62mm revolvers, 24,000 Capsule detonators, 14,290 electrical detonators (plain), 290 electrical detonators (screw-type), four launching pads for 60mm mortars, five bipods, five tubes and six base plates for 82mm mortars.

A spokesman for the SA Defence Force said this week the stockpiling of arms in Angola contravened agreements between the South African government and the ANC.

"The ANC was to have pointed out all its arms caches and was to have ceased recruiting for MK as well as the training of MK personnel," he said.

"It is surprising the ANC dismisses the issue of what it intends doing about these weapons as not in the public interest."

### Tripartite Alliance Outlines Protest Action Plans

MB1207150992 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES  
in English 12 Jul 92 p 25

[Text] While political leaders trade memoranda, the ANC [African National Congress], SACP [South African Communist Party] and Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade Unions] are laying their plans for massive civil action. These extracts from the minutes of a recent meeting of the triple alliance spell out, in deceptively bland terms, the barrelling protest South Africa may expect to see in the coming weeks:

#### 1. Introduction

The meeting's agenda included reports on phase 1, a brainstorm on our political perspective on mass action and three commissions on rolling action, the general strike and building coalitions. This report needs to be discussed in the constitutional structures of the Tripartite Alliance and a programme finalised as soon as possible.

#### 2. 'Our political perspective on mass action'

2.1 We are striving through our programme of action [POA] to politically defeat De Klerk. When we return to the negotiating table, it should be to discuss the transfer of power to the people.

2.2 However, our mass action needs to continue so that:

—The hand of those at the negotiating table should be strengthened.

—People are part of the process of deciding their own futures.

2.3 Our programme of action should include building a broad pro-democracy movement.

2.4 We need to consider returning to the strategy of politically and administratively establishing organs of people power.

2.5 We should bear in mind the objective of preparing for elections.

2.6 We need to avoid getting trapped into long and protracted negotiations.

2.7 We want a reconstituted negotiations forum where the holding of free and fair elections by December 1992 is discussed.

#### 3. Rolling mass action

3.1 Our rolling mass action should be planned with the following in mind:

3.1.1 The need to build and consolidate our own organisations as well as the Alliance and our relationships with the broadest possible range of organisations who support our demands.

3.1.2 Activities should be co-ordinated across the Alliance, for example, the ANC should join marches against retrenchments.

3.1.3 We need to empower our people to take action into their own hands.

3.1.4 The leadership needs to provide the lead by engaging in defiant actions.

3.1.5 We need to have a tactical approach to paying bail. We may at some points in time decide to all refuse bail—especially where prominent comrades are involved. However, we need to be careful not to be seen to be involving our people in action, and then deserting them when they are caught.

3.2 Possible activities which could form part of the rolling action include:

— Naming of people's squares in communities.

— Marches.

— Actions directed at those implicated in the violence; eg marches to policemen's homes in the suburbs.

3.3 Timetable of actions. Guideline dates were suggested:

3.3.1 July 1-15: Agitational period.

a) This should include spreading the message to our members through meetings and mass media as well as tactics such as painting police stations red,

nailing Freedom Charters on government buildings, etc.

b) Mass meetings in communities should be arranged to explain the programme of action and work out how different local areas can contribute to the programme and link to local issues, eg evictions, no pension payouts, lack of housing, etc.

c) We should also consider creating a culture of street meetings and impromptu meetings in the city centre using megaphones.

### 3.3.2 From July 15: Occupations of government buildings.

a) This should continue beyond the general strike. While this phase of the campaign should be publicly announced, it should be left to the discretion of sectors and regions to decide on exactly which date they would occupy which buildings.

b) We would need to consider also radio stations to make demands about the SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] and local municipalities to protest unilateral restructuring of these institutions.

### 3.3.3 July 18: Focus on Bantustans.

a) The Alliance together with our Patriotic Front allies needs to plan a focus on our demand for the restoration of citizenship and reincorporation of Bantustans.

### 3.3.4 July 22: National focus on violence.

a) This is the second anniversary of the Sebokeng massacre. We need to use this day to highlight our demands to end the violence. Dramatic actions should be planned.

### 3.3.5 July 25: Occupation of city centres.

3.3.6 July 31: Campaign for democratisation of the SABC. We need to urgently make a call for the democratisation of the SABC and for major advertisers to come out clearly on their position. If they do not do so by July 31, we need to call for a boycott of products advertised on TV.

### 3.4 The Alliance Campaign's Committee to follow up:

3.4.1 The establishment of a mass action fund which could be used for bail monies and other such expenses.

3.4.2 PAYE [pay as you earn] campaign and establishment of a Fund for a Democratic South Africa.

3.4.3 A code of conduct for comrades who participate in defiance actions.

### 4. General strike

4.1.1 The main demands of the strike should be for the democratisation of our country or for the transfer of power to the people.

4.1.2 However, we should conceptualise the general strike within the context of the programme of action and also use it to focus on:

—An end to poverty.

—Living wage demands.

—The unilateral restructuring of the economy, so that transfer of power is not empty.

—An end to violence

—End of Bantustans.

4.2.2 It said the strike should be a minimum of seven days which should involve the following forms of action:

August 3, 4 and 5: Local activities, eg marches and rallies, student activities, occupation of local municipal offices.

August 6 and 7: Regional marches and occupation of city centres.

August 8: Assessment day. A national forum of the alliance should be held.

August 9: Church activities including interdenominational services where priests address issues of relevance to our POA.

### 4.3 Other points include:

4.3.1 The need to put pressure on employers not to victimise and dismiss workers. Political organisations must also be part of taking up the consequences of mass action, eg ANC to meet Chamber of Mines if there are mass dismissals.

4.3.2 Wage strikes should overlap with the general strike.

4.3.3 The education sector is considering their form of action during the strike.

4.3.4 Cosatu is debating factory occupations.

### 5. Building broad coalitions

The Commission considered the following initiatives:

5.1 On June 18, 35 organisations discussed the establishment of a broad front opposed to corruption and murder. An ad hoc committee of about 12 organisations is preparing for a second summit.

5.2 Cosatu reported on an initiative between Cosatu, the churches and business to establish a "Charter and Programme for Peace and Democracy".

5.3 Reviving the Patriotic Front.

5.4 The Tripartite Alliance.

To guard against sending the wrong or mixed signals to people, on the one hand, and attempts to divide the ANC from its allies, and the SACP and Cosatu in particular, we need to have a consistent, collective and common approach to issues. This was stressed in relation to the sports issue.

### Business, Union Leaders Negotiate Over Strike

MB1207135292 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES  
in English 12 Jul 92 pp 1,2

[By Edyth Bulbring, Mike Robertson, and Ezra Mantini]

[Text] Top businessmen and unionists are engaged in desperate last-minute talks to avert a drawn-out general

strike and halt the drift of black townships into the anarchy of the mid-80s. Already comrades in several Reef townships are resurrecting the old block committee system as a first step to seizing control of the townships. They also intend marching on the homes of black policemen.

This week, with neither the ANC [African National Congress] nor the government showing any sign of backing down, the ANC's protest campaign moves into a new phase: the occupation of government buildings. But even as the rhetoric of civil protest against the government mounts, the business community and unionists are involved in delicate talks which could seize the initiative from the deadlocked politicians.

The SA Co-ordinating Committee on Labour Affairs [Saccola], a body representing 10 major employers and Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade Unions], the trade union federation sponsoring the protest actions, is considering joint worker-boss action to pressure political leaders to speed up moves towards a democratic settlement.

A day of joint business-union action on August 3—the proposed launch date for a seven-day general strike—is now being considered.

Representatives of Cosatu and Saccola agreed on Tuesday [7 July] to a draft set of proposals on joint action to achieve democracy. The proposals were endorsed on Thursday at a full executive meeting of Saccola and are to be finalised with Cosatu this week.

Saccola vice-chairman Johann Liebenberg said the objective was to avoid a national strike and to find ways to urge politicians to negotiate.

The draft proposal endorses swift transition to an interim government and the holding of democratic elections for a constitution-making body.

Key personalities in this initiative are Saccola chairman Bokkie Botha, Chamber of Mines president Bobby Godsell, Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo and Cosatu deputy secretary-general Sam Shilowa.

A leading Cosatu official said joint action by business and the unions was bound to make an impact on resolving the impasse in political negotiations.

But the ANC alliance's bottom line for resuming talks and averting the general strike remained that the government accept majority rule, he said.

On Friday Cosatu's central executive committee decided on a seven-day national strike beginning on August 3.

The first two days would consist of a stayaway from work. On August 5, workers would occupy the major cities with the intention of bringing city life to a standstill.

The next two days would involve workers' occupation of factories and other workplaces while the last two days would consist of rallies and meetings.

Already, however, events on the ground appear to be overtaking the leaders.

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba confirmed this week that the intention was to take the townships back to the era of "ungovernability" of the mid-80s.

"As part of our mass action we are going to identify and march towards the homes of police who killed our people during riots," he said. "We are going to harass their families so that they know that they are staying with killers in their families."

"We are going to return to the 1985 period with the establishment of street and block committees and people's courts. Residents are going to take their townships away from the government and run them as they please. After all, that is better than living in fear of being attacked by state agents who kill them in their sleep," Mr Mokaba said.

A new slogan has emerged among firebrands in the more radical Pan Africanist Congress [PAC] in Transvaal townships: "Kill a cop a day".

From East Rand townships, meanwhile, come reports of a hardening of anti-white sentiment. ANC, PAC and Azapo [Azanian People's Organization] youth have also apparently buried their differences and declared themselves ready to support the protest actions.

The government is also showing few signs of compromise.

"There is too much fight left on both sides," was how a senior cabinet minister summed up the situation this week. "The ANC believes it is on a winning streak while the government believes it is too strong to succumb."

South Africa's domestic crisis will also take the international stage this week.

At least six Codesa [Convention for the Democratic South Africa] participants will be at the United Nations in New York on Wednesday when the Security Council begins its hearing on South Africa. Among those addressing the council will be Foreign Minister Pik Botha, ANC leader Nelson Mandela, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and homeland leaders Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei and General Bantu Holomisa of Transkei.

In an effort to position itself before the hearing, the South African government has again made clear that it would be willing to accept a greater role for the international community within the country.

Yesterday National Party secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe called for an independent team of international experts to be asked to investigate, evaluate and report on the extent to which the ANC alliance has honoured its agreements with the government—particularly on the control of weapons and its armed wing.



In effect he was asking for international involvement in monitoring compliance with the Peace Accord and the Groote Schuur, Pretoria and DF Malan minutes. A monitoring role for the international community is a key ANC demand.

President F.W. de Klerk's diplomatic initiatives and the absence of the Soviet Union convince the government that it will have a more favourable reception at the Security Council.

Whatever the outcome of the council meeting, however, government ministers are already preparing themselves for a greatly changed climate after mass action.

"When we return (from the current crisis) it is likely to be a very different negotiating table," said one.

### Three 'Strategic Strands' Within Alliance Assessed

MB1107065692 Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 10-16 Jul 92 pp 2, 5

[Report by Phillipa Garson: "The Boat, the Tap and the Leipzig Way"]

[Text] Have the insurrectionists within the alliance between the African National Congress [ANC], the Congress of South African Trade Unions [COSATU] and the South African Communist Party [SACP] won the day, as the government seems to think?

Not so, according to a key SACP document which rejects insurrection as unrealistic, "given that we are further (and we were arguably never that close) from insurrection now than we were three or four years ago."

There is, undoubtedly, a strong desire among grassroots militants to take the mass action campaign to its limits and seize power. But while some senior leaders are openly using the language of insurrection, sources within the tripartite alliance see this more as an attempt to mobilise support for the campaign than as a part of any coherent insurrectionary strategy.

The SACP document, entitled "The boat, the tap and the Leipzig way: a critique of some strategic assumptions in our ranks," was written by national executive committee member Jeremy Cronin and circulated at the SACP's extended central committee meeting last month.

It strongly suggests that the widely-held view that there is a hidden insurrectionist agenda underpinning the mass action campaign is far-fetched.

Not surprisingly, the government has vested interests in discrediting the campaign as a victory for the insurrectionists, portraying a liberation movement divided into "communists" and "moderates" and leaving the door open for a government crackdown.

In his response to the ANC's decision to pull out of negotiations, President F.W. de Klerk accused the organisation "and particularly its allies in COSATU and the SACP" of following "their own agenda towards the seizure of power."

Familiar accusations, to the effect that the "communist cabal" forced moderates within the alliance to capitulate to demands for an insurrectionary take-over, have repeatedly been made in government circles, harking back to the days of Operation Vula.

Last week the Sunday press, citing a document by SACP stalwart Raymond Suttner, warned: "In dealing with mass action the possibility must be kept in mind that the campaign has a hidden as well as a public agenda." Other internal alliance documents have been quoted in an attempt to pin down a "hidden agenda" and exactly what the mass action campaign is expected to achieve: insurrection or forcing sufficient concessions from the government to allow the ANC to go back to the table.

THE WEEKLY MAIL last week quoted a confidential ANC paper which argued the case for an extended political strike to paralyse the country and force the government to capitulate. The paper is an updated Youth League document, the original of which has been in circulation in alliance circles for some time.

Cronin's document identified three strategic strands within the alliance: the "don't rock the boat" school; "the tap" school (the strategic switching on and off of mass action), and the "Leipzig option" (a popular uprising like that which toppled Eastern European communist governments).

He argues that all three approaches fall short.

Cronin criticises the insurrectionary stance touted by the Youth League leadership as an "elite, conspiratorial fixation" which has detracted from developing grassroots youth programmes of action.

His document argues in favour of mass action as a continual feature of the political process, both now and in the future, and sets out to show that all three strategies fail to guarantee this.

Most interesting, however, is that the document confirms different strategic positions within the alliance. It also points to a rejection of the insurrectionary road from the SACP think-tank, despite claims that it is the party has pushed the ANC towards insurrection.

The document to some extent shows that, while the decision to pull out of Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] may have been more or less unanimous, perceptions within the alliance of what the mass action campaign is to achieve may be less so.

The paper describes the moderate "don't rock the boat" outlook within the alliance as seeking democracy primarily through "negotiated pacts between elites." In this view—which many observers identify with international

affairs department head Thabo Mbeki—conflict should be resolved through bargaining, not militant mass action.

Cronin criticises this strategy, which he sees as likely to gain popularity if and once the ANC becomes the government: "The temptation of (this strategy) is therefore, likely to be particularly alluring to some in our ranks who are beginning to see themselves as future bureaucrats."

The "tap" option, said to be favoured by president Nelson Mandela and general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, is seen as a more militant version of the first: mass action and other militant struggles should be used to win concessions at negotiations, but no more.

Cronin sees this approach as dangerously "instrumentalist"—that mass action can justifiably be resorted to as no more than on-off pressure to achieve voting rights for the majority, a device used in periodic spurts, for example, during elections. "It begins to suggest that soon the national liberation movement must transform itself narrowly into an electoral machine," says Cronin.

On strategy three, "the Leipzig way," Cronin supports the principle of "a mass uprising that builds dual power, that overthrows an incumbent regime and replaces it with the emergent organs of popular power," but ultimately rejects it as unrealistic at present. This strategy, he says, is "now enjoying a significant resurgence of popularity as a result of utter dissatisfaction with the preceding two strategic outlooks, particularly after the deadlock at Codesa."

The "Leipzig option" is widely identified with SACP secretary general Chris Hani, ANC national executive committee member Ronnie Kasrils and Youth League president Peter Mokaba.

In the first place, Cronin argues, the option has more in common with the "tap" strategy than insurrection. Rather than transferring power to the masses, the demonstrations in Eastern Europe "created the space for elites to bargain over transitional process," he argues.

But he goes on to argue that an insurrectionary approach is even less realistic than it was three years ago.

Given the strength of the security forces, more consolidated since the withdrawal of troops in Angola and Namibia, and an international balance of forces even less favourable to the liberation movement, Cronin concludes:

"Our present political situation is neither on the brink of an insurrectionary moment, nor is it blocked ... as it was through much of the past three decades.

"We are now living in an extremely fluid political conjuncture. In this situation there are particular dangers in propagating a strategy whose medium success is at best uncertain."

### **COSATU Expected To Call Five-Day Aug Strike** *MB1007175392 Johannesburg NEW NATION in English 10-16 Jul 92 p 18*

[Text] Cosatu's [Congress of South African Trade Unions] Central Executive Committee (CEC) is expected to finalise the duration of the August general strike today but expectations are that it would last for a minimum of five days.

This could make the longest and costliest national general strike ever. And parallel action during the strike, which will also be finalised this week, is set to snarl up traffic, disrupt trading on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange and hamper communications and broadcasts.

Sources within the federation say that much will depend on how the government responds to the strike. It could well go beyond the five-day minimum if a State of Emergency (SOE) is declared and police and soldiers are deployed against communities participating in the general strike.

Earlier suggestions were that the strike should last for a minimum of three days and not for longer than seven days. The new minimum duration of five days now being considered suggests rapidly increasing support for the action within the federation's structures.

Developments around the strike, especially government reaction, will determine whether the action is extended or not.

Sources said that it is more than likely that if people are detained and a SOE is declared, workers will not return to their factories after the five day strike.

Today's CEC will also finalise details on action that will be taken during the general strike. One of the possibilities being considered is for a march on the Union Buildings in Pretoria that will be led by senior leaders of the ANC [African National Congress]-led alliance. This could happen in Day 2 of the strike.

Occupation of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange and other strategic buildings in the city on Day 3 has also found strong support in the labour movement. Post offices and SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] installations are some of the centres that are being targeted for occupation.

Perhaps the most disruptive action that is being considered is jamming traffic along major routes inside and outside the cities.

At this early stage in the build up to the strike, there is little to suggest that the action will not go ahead. So far, government responses to demands made by the ANC-SACP [South African Communist Party]-Cosatu alliance have done little to help ease the situation.

National Party leader FW de Klerk has offered only to accept some of the positions that his party rejected at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] II.

But from Cosatu's perspective, these offers do not come anywhere near meeting the list of demands that the federation says represents the absolute bottom line on how political transition should be managed.

In the meantime, Cosatu affiliates remain deadlocked with bosses on economic demands and issues relating to township violence. Tensions in the factories and on the mines will only help harden positions in as far as the general strike is concerned.

This week, workers in the biggest industry in the manufacturing sector, the steel and engineering division, began casting their strike votes in preparation for industrial action that could coincide with the next month's general strike.

Cosatu's National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa) began balloting its estimated 130,000 members in the sector in response to the breakdown in wage talks.

The outcome of the ballot, which will no doubt be interpreted by employers as reflecting the measure of readiness among workers to strike over wages, will have an important bearing on the general strike.

Being the strongest sector in Cosatu, engineering workers will form the backbone of the general strike and the outcome of the ballot will therefore be crucial in this regard.

Whether the wage dispute should be linked to the general strike, for which workers are being mobilised around mainly political issues and violence, remains a matter for debate.

Union activists concerned at drawing direct links between the wage dispute and the political battle, caution against linking the two campaigns, largely for tactical reasons.

One of their major concerns is the response of the workers in this sector should bosses meet Numsa's economic demands. If workers return to their factories, it could have a ripple effect on other sectors and has the potential of weakening the general strike.

But Numsa, at its National Executive Committee meeting last week, placed the Boipatong massacre at the top of its list of concerns. In addition to its wage demands, Numsa wants a clear response from the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of SA (Seifsa) on the violence and the failure of bosses to "do anything at all to protect workers over the past six years".

Given past responses, it seems highly unlikely that Seifsa would admit to doing nothing to protect workers. An apology, as demanded by Numsa, for employers' lack of action therefore seems highly unlikely.

When examined against this background, fears of a possible return to work by metal workers in the middle of the general strike, therefore seem unfounded.

It nevertheless remains a cause for concern among union organisers in other sectors.

Intense mobilisation is also underway in other sectors of the economy.

### **ANC Alliance Plans Orange Free State Actions**

*MB1307094892 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0816 GMT 13 Jul 92*

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by the African National Congress]

[Text] The southern OFS [Orange Free State, SOFS] ANC [African National Congress]/COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions]/SACP [South African Communist Party] tri-partite alliance announces a programme of rolling mass action for the region: Bloemfontein - the campaigns committee of the tri-partite alliance of ANC, COSATU and SACP in the southern OFS region held a meeting to announce the regional programme of mass action here on Sunday 12 July 1992.

The Bloemfontein COSATU local shopstewards council secretary, Mr. Letshego Malebo said that this programme will continue until the De Klerk regime meets the demands of the people.

He said that the government should agree to an election for a democratic and sovereign constituent assembly, stop the violence, murder and destruction of property and disband all spacial forces and operations that involve foreign mercenaries and vigilantes.

He announced the following two-month regional programme of mass action to back up the demands mentioned above:

July 13 Anti-Bophuthatswana government picket on the R64 road to Thaba-Nchu.

July 15 Occupation of government buildings at regional and local levels in the OFS.

July 18 Regional march on SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] office in Bloemfontein to demand democratisation of the corporation and the resolution of the strike at SABC.

July 22 Regional march to Bloemfontein prison to demand the release of political prisoners.

July 25 Occupation of Bloemfontein city-centre jointly with the workers of T and GWU [Transport and General Workers Union].

July 26 Zonal rallies to be addressed by the tri-partite alliance to mark Cuban solidarity campaign.

July 31 Beginning of regional consumer boycott of SABC TV licenses.

Aug 3 Beginning of a general strike (2 days duration).

Aug 5 Zonal rallies and marches for workers and community demands.



Aug 9 Zonal rallies and marches organised by women against violence and repression.

Aug 15 Regional music festival in Botshabelo for returnees, victims of violence and repression.

Mr. Malebo said that further details concerning the remainder of the campaign dates will be announced later. He called on all to ensure that the mass campaign for democracy is peaceful and disciplined. Issued by: ANC/SACP/COSATU SOFS regional campaigns committee, P.O. Box 7524 Bloemfontein 9300, tel. (051) 48-0441/2/3/4 contact person: Moses Mogamise (media officer) 13 July 1992

#### **ANC Mass Action To Continue If Talks Resume**

*MB1007200892 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1600 GMT 10 Jul 92*

[Text] The ANC's [African National Congress] constitutional negotiator, Mr. Valli Moosa, says the organization will continue with its mass action, even if the negotiations should resume. Mr. Moosa was saying in Johannesburg that the ANC might turn down the intensity of the mass action if there was a breakthrough in the deadlock at the negotiation table. He said this country would witness unprecedented mass action should the government fail to address the ANC's demands.

Referring to the United Nations Security Council discussions of the situation in South Africa, Mr. Valli Moosa said the United Nations and other organizations should not force the ANC to return to Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa]. He said these organizations should come to South Africa and remove the obstacles to negotiations. He identified these obstacles as being violence and the government's perception of democracy.

#### **SABC Says Wage Offers Fair, Nondiscriminatory**

*MB1207104692 Johannesburg SABA in English 0950 GMT 12 Jul 92*

[Text] Johannesburg July 12 SABA—The SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] on Sunday said its wage increase offers to members of the Media Workers' Association of SA [MWASA] engaged in a strike at the corporation, were fair and non-discriminatory.

In an open letter, addressed to all SABC viewers and listeners and placed in newspapers on Sunday, SABC group chief executive Wynand Harmse said the corporation believed that people "deserved to know our side of the story".

Mr Harmse said the SABC had offered MWASA an 11 per cent across-the-board salary increase with effect from March 1, 1992.

"South Africa is experiencing extremely difficult economic conditions at the moment. Therefore most industries and employers are negotiating less than 10 per cent increases this year."

Five per cent of the 11 per cent increase would also be back-dated to October 1, 1991, which would be payable in a lump sum up to February 29, 1992, he said.

The SABC has also offered to increase the minimum salary for an unskilled person from R[and](935 to R1300 per month, an increase of 39 per cent.

"This minimum is amongst the highest in South Africa," Mr Harmse said, exclaiming that the "union still demands more!"

He said the strike made it impossible for the SABC to broadcast the normal programmes on CCV-TV [Contemporary Community Values-TV] and the radio services in African languages.

"Our question to you: Are we unfair? So unfair that people have to strike and even that those who want to work and who want to keep the programmes going are intimidated and threatened?"

"We believe our offers to be entirely fair and they are non-discriminatory. We still hope that a solution to the problem would be found," Mr Harmse concluded.

#### **ANC Press Release Reaffirms Financial Sanctions**

*MB1007181192 Johannesburg SABA in English 1727 GMT 10 Jul 92*

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by the African National Congress: "Press Release on Financial Sanctions"]

[Text] It has come to the attention of the ANC [African National Congress] that some South African parastatals are again preparing to raise bond issues on the European money markets. It is appropriate that we remind both these parastatals and the bankers involved that this is a flagrant violation of financial sanctions which remain in force until an interim government requests that they be lifted, in terms of decision of both the Commonwealth and the UN General Assembly.

The government's intransigence in negotiations has pushed the installation of an interim government further into the background. The ANC restates its commitment to the establishment of an interim government and consequently securing democratic elections soonest.

In view of these circumstances, and the impending meeting of the UN Security Council to discuss South Africa, we wish to appeal to European bankers not to become involved in any bond issue for South Africa, whether for government or parastatal, until an interim government is firmly in place.

Issued by the Department of Information and Publicity  
P O Box 61884

Marshalltown, 2107

10 July 1992

**SACC Conference Ends; Chikane Reaffirms Deadline***MB1007194292 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1837 GMT 10 Jul 92*

[Text] Durban July 10 SAPA—The SA [South African] Council of Churches [SACC] wanted steps to be taken within the next few days to resolve the negotiations impasse or it would become directly involved in the trying to resolve the deadlock. Addressing reporters at the closure of the SACC's week-long national conference in Durban on Friday [10 July], SACC General Secretary the Rev Frank Chikane said the impending threats of mass action could take the country back to the "pre-1990 conflict". The government's unwillingness to allow the country to travel the road of democracy would lead to disaster, he predicted.

The SACC hoped the international and business communities would put pressure on the government to ensure all obstacles to peace and democracy were removed. "If this doesn't happen, we'll do all possible to help resolve the situation," said Mr Chikane.

SACC President Dr Khoza Mgojo was more emphatic: "If (State President F W) de Klerk doesn't respond positively to our calls as church leaders, we will revert back to where we were as churches before February, 1990".

Mr Chikane said the calls involved:

- Bringing those responsible for the Boipatong massacre to trial soon;
- The government agreeing in principle to an international violence monitoring group to monitor political violence and security force action. The details of this group and its functions could be discussed later; and
- The government agreeing to the principle of an elected constituent assembly.

Mr Chikane said the SACC stood by its July 15 deadline for the government to respond positively to these proposals.

Failing this, the SACC would consult its member churches on what action it would take.

Expanding on the SACC's demands Mr Chikane said the lack of confidence in the security forces and the violence sweeping the country made the council's stance necessary. "We need the establishment of a peace-keeping force internally and we need international monitoring of violence in the country."

Mr Chikane said the country was facing its worst crisis because of the government's unwillingness to allow South Africans to determine their own destiny.

**Resolutions Issued***MB1007201892 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1935 GMT 10 Jul 92*

[Text] Durban July 10 SAPA—The SA [South African] Council of Churches [SACC] has called for a new integrated peace keeping force to replace security forces operating in the country. In a resolution adopted at its national conference in Durban on Friday [10 July], the SACC said it wanted this force to comprise equal and substantial numbers of members of the SA Defence Force, SA Police, Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation; ANC military wing], Azanian People's Liberation Army, Azanian National Liberation Army and the security forces of the independent homelands.

"They should receive appropriate retraining. Their central command should include representatives of all constituent bodies," the resolution stated. The central command could, alternatively, be entrusted to an international body. The SACC said this force should be given distinctive uniforms and vehicles and should be monitored by an international group.

The conference also resolved to call on Christian men and women in the security forces who had access to information on destabilisation policies to "come forward at once". The SACC would assist in receiving this information and would do all it could to publicise the call nationally. "This conference repeats its deep suspicion regarding the destabilising role being played by the security forces, or elements within the security forces, in undermining the rise of an open democracy in southern Africa."

A further resolution said the SACC would alert its member churches of the government's alleged destabilisation policy and provide them with resources such as video documentaries on this policy for analysis.

A resolution on the "illegitimacy" of the government called for a plan of action to be drawn up on a programme of fasts and hunger strikes to force the government to resign. The SACC would also urge church leaders to place adverts in newspapers calling for the resignation of the government.

The church body would plan a moratorium on further talks by churches with the government until it acceded to democracy.

On mass action, the conference resolved this was a legitimate, democratic means of protest. "The only way to make this unnecessary is to end the deadlock, and allow for the institution of true democracy in this land."

**12 Jul Press Review on Current Events, Issues***MB1207114092*

[Editorial Report]

### SATURDAY STAR

**Negotiation Only Route To Follow**—"Both President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela have confirmed their recognition that negotiation is the only route to follow," notes the Johannesburg SATURDAY STAR in English on 11 July in a page 10 editorial. While the "climate for talking is inauspicious" and the "mood of the country hovers between despair and belligerence," it will "take some statesmanship (a commodity sadly lacking) to set dialogue in train again." The paper notes "that both leaders have underlined a sombre truth that their followers must accept. The alternative to negotiations is the Beirut option."

### SUNDAY TIMES

**New Terrain of Compromise**—Noting that "negotiation is but another terrain of struggle," the Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English on 12 July in a page 24 editorial, states that "both major parties think they will improve their long-term chances by intransigence, even if the cost in the short term is great suffering." And the type of campaign planned by the ANC [African National Congress] "carries the likelihood of violence." "Already, South Africa can kiss goodbye to foreign investment. Soon it will be kissing goodbye to many of its citizens." "The duration of misery depends on how long ordinary people will follow their so-called leaders into battle." The paper concludes that "the more fiercely the ANC, and the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] and the National Party contest the future, the more necessary for ordinary people to find and develop the terrain of compromise, and hold it against those who seek struggle."

### SUNDAY STAR

**Civilized Mass Action**—Noting that "once again the Goldstone Commission has come up with practical ideas to manage our crisis," the Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English on 12 July in a page 28 editorial suggests that as "mass action is unavoidable," the ANC, police, and others "observe the civilized rules of behavior proposed by the Goldstone panel. This requires that the police treat every demonstration as 'legitimate' and shoot 'only if lives are in serious danger.' At the same time mass action leaders have 'to impose their own discipline and control.'" "If leaders and officers on all sides keep their cool in the months ahead, mass action will not become the national disaster that many people fear."

### Press Review for 13 July

MB1307122592

[Editorial Report]

### THE STAR

**De Klerk Must Assume: Law, Order Responsibility**—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 13 July in a page 8 editorial says the recent letters exchanged by President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela "are overwhelmingly uncompromising, angry documents." They have "had their effect of plunging our nation into a deep trough of despair and fear." The government has "both the duty and the capacity to take the initiative." "As a minimum gesture of good faith Mr De Klerk must fence the hostels, ban the carrying of weapons, go out actively to punish criminals in his security forces, and allow an international monitoring role which is agreed to by all the major players, not simply decided upon by his Government. For good measure, he should take seriously the ANC [African National Congress] suggestion that he assume personal responsibility for the Law and Order and Defence portfolios. Mr De Klerk must take these steps without qualification—not to please the ANC, but to re-establish a basis of goodwill and trust upon which a new form of cleansed negotiations can begin. This is the call of statesmanship, and never in our history has it been more urgent."

### BUSINESS DAY

**Criticism of Whites-Only Conscription**—Enforced military service for white youngsters "has emerged as yet another bone of contention between the ANC and the National Party [NP]," notes a page 6 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 13 July. "The military claims it cannot halt the white draft as the Defence Act specifies that only white South Africans have a military service obligation; the Nats maintain an embarrassed silence, unwilling to alter racially exclusive legislation; the ANC calls on white youths not to enlist, saying the SADF [South African Defense Force] is the NP government's military arm; and the End Conscription Campaign points to the questionable legality of conscription's white exclusivity." "Police and military have to be seen to be non-partisan, in place to maintain civil peace. Racially exclusive conscription raises a question about this."

### SOWETAN

**Government's 'Inept' Handling of Strike**—The government's "inept handling of this [hospital] strike as well as that of the black workers at the SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation], makes us shudder to think about the mass action planned by the ANC and its allies," states Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 13 July in a page 6 editorial. "It is easy to tell the ANC to call the campaign off because of the price the country will have to pay. But before we choose the easy way out, we should ask the people with the power, the employers and the State, to anticipate the damage and *negotiate* [italics as published] before that price is exacted."



**Angola****Assassination Attempt, Malanje Shooting Reported**

*MB1307073292 Luanda Radio Nacional Network  
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 13 Jul 92*

[Excerpts] In the city of Saurimo yesterday, Daniel Chipenda, election campaign director of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA], escaped an attempt on his life. Four citizens have been detained in connection with the incident. One of them is Major Godinho of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA]. [passage omitted] UNITA's Engineer Salupeto Pena has already reacted.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Engineer Salupeto Pena, yesterday Mr. Daniel Chipenda said that an attempt had been made on his life in Lunda Sul Province. He accused UNITA of being involved, and said that several UNITA members had been arrested. So, we would like you to give us UNITA's version of the incident.

[Pena] Well, that is a pure lie. First of all, UNITA is not involved in assassinations. Second, why should UNITA kill Mr. Chipenda? What dividends would UNITA gain from that? Third, the people allegedly involved in the matter include Major Luis Godinho (Pakissanda) of the regional group. He is well known in the area as a Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] major. There is also Eugenio (Cangangue Chimanemate), the secretary of a local committee. He is also well known.

[Reporter] There are people, including soldiers who have been detained. They had AK's, and bullets were found in the rifles' chambers.

[Pena] That is a scenario that does not make any sense. I would like to reiterate that UNITA is not involved in that matter. [end recording]

Salupeto Pena then said that it is necessary to disarm people in view of a shoot-out reported in Malanje. Captain Adelino Timoteo of FALA was killed, and a number of civilians were injured.

[Begin recording] [Pena] Shooting is going on in Malanje. It started at 1215 on 12 July, before UNITA began a scheduled political rally. Intense fire erupted, and two helicopters backed the operation. Right now, UNITA's committee building in the Carreira de Tiro Ward is occupied by People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] troops. As a result of the shooting, Capt. Adelino Timoteo was killed.

That is in fact a very worrisome situation. That is not a fabrication. It can be proved.

[Reporter] Did FAPLA elements start the shooting?

[Pena] Yes, exactly.

[Reporter] Do you have any information of FAPLA members killed in the shooting?

[Pena] No. As far as I know, there was no exchange of fire. So, UNITA had organized a political rally in that ward, but before that FAPLA troops started shooting in order to disperse the people. Capt. Adelino Timoteo was killed. The shooting then spread to all other wards. Information that I received at 1800 indicates that firing was still going on. Two adults and a child were killed, and three people have been injured. [end recording]

**UNITA Radio Reports 14 Prisoners Leave Jamba**

*MB1207070492 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance  
of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and  
Central Africa 0500 GMT 12 Jul 92*

[Text] Fourteen Angolan citizens were taken from Jamba to Luanda yesterday by a People's Republic of Angola Government delegation. They were part of what the government regards as prisoners of war. The release of these people had been discussed at last week's meeting of the Joint Political and Military Commission.

The government had asked for the release of 20 people, but six of them, five men and one woman, refused to travel to Luanda on the government plane. Some of them did not want to leave and told us that they were being pressured to go to Luanda. They noted that they had not been interviewed by an Angolan or international agency to state whether they wished to return. Most of them left their families in Jamba, adding that they were leaving with broken hearts because their wives did not know that they were going to Luanda.

**Luanda Radio on Release**

*MB1207070892 Luanda Radio Nacional Network  
in Portuguese 2200 GMT 11 Jul 92*

[Text] Only 12 [as heard] of the 20 prisoners of war held by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] left Jamba today. Eight others stayed behind of their own free will. Pedro Neto, government representative at the Joint Political and Military Commission [CCPM], said:

[Begin recording] [Neto] Some citizens decided of their own free will not to leave Jamba. After exchanging views, both the Red Cross and the government delegations agreed [words indistinct] who did not want to leave Jamba. Basically, they did not want to leave for personal reasons about which we do not wish to comment.

There was the case of a woman who showed up without her children. We could not force her to leave on purely humanitarian grounds. There were other instances. So, 12 fellow Angolans came with us and eight stayed behind.

[Unidentified reporter] What about the Portuguese national, who has been in Jamba since 1983, and the People's Air Force of Angola Air Defense pilot?



[Neto] Regarding the Portuguese national, I think that the main reason is that he is being sought by the Luanda police. So, he might have felt uncomfortable about leaving Jamba. The other person you have mentioned is not a pilot, but a technician. He decided to stay behind. [end recording]

#### **Cabinda Faction Leader Threatens Military Action**

*MB1107084892 London BBC World Service  
in Portuguese 2030 GMT 10 Jul 92*

[Text] The Luanda authorities have gone out of their way to reach a negotiated settlement in Cabinda. They have been trying to meet the territory's various separatist factions. Recently, Ranque Frank visited Luanda and Cabinda. Reports say that that historic figure of the Front for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave [FLEC] is organizing a Paris meeting. N'zita Tiago, leader of FLEC's most powerful and radical wing, will certainly not take part in the meeting, but in an interview with Jorge Araujo of our news room, he said that he has been in touch with President Jose Eduardo dos Santos whom he accused of going back on his word.

[Begin recording] [Tiago] Jose Eduardo dos Santos, who is the president of the People's Republic of Angola, promised that I would meet him on 11 and 12 June 1992. The Angolan president has not kept his promise, but my doors are always open. I am waiting to hear his current views on Cabinda.

[Araujo] It has been reported that following his visit to Luanda, Mr. Ranque Frank was organizing a meeting in Paris to be attended by all FLEC factions. Have you been approached?

[Tiago] We have liberated areas in Cabinda. If he wishes to call a meeting of all political sons of Cabinda, Mr. Ranque Frank could perhaps do it in those areas, and not there. People claim to be leaders of political parties established abroad. What do they know of the suffering of the people inside the country? What do they know of the massacres that the Angolan Government has committed against the people of Cabinda? It is those people suffering in Cabinda who should tell the politicians how to conduct their affairs abroad.

[Araujo] Are you in favor of a negotiated political solution for Cabinda?

[Tiago] But all that depends on Jose Eduardo dos Santos. We are not the ones who have left Cabinda to fight the Angolans in their country. We still believe that we have an issue with the Portuguese Government which should resolve the dispute and remove the Angolans from our territory. Whereas the Portuguese Government is not doing that, we are fighting. Angolans should realize that they are in Cabinda illegally.

[Araujo] The Angolan Government often complains that it does not have a single interlocutor to discuss the Cabinda issue.

[Tiago] That is a lie because ever since the Angolan Government entered Cabinda with Cuban and foreign forces, it knows against whom it is fighting. I have been waging that struggle since 1974. Jose Eduardo dos Santos knows that too well. Fidel Castro knows too. In 1984 or 1983 I asked Fidel Castro to discuss peace in Cabinda. He allowed Jose Eduardo dos Santos to hold a meeting between FLEC and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA]. We held that meeting in the liberated areas of Cabinda. Two meetings were held in the People's Republic of the Congo.

[Araujo] Which role do you think Portugal could play?

[Tiago] They have a lot to say because the suffering of the people of Cabinda has been caused by the Portuguese Government. The Portuguese Government is no longer interested in the issue, but it does not matter. What we expect from the Portuguese Government is to tell the Angolans it has sent to Cabinda to leave the territory.

We have never attacked Angola, but should the Angolans continue killing our people, we will train teams which will destroy and carry out actions inside Luanda against the Angolan authorities because we are tired of dying and being massacred inside our country and for no reason. [end recording]

#### **Comoros**

#### **President Djohar Dismisses Government**

*AB1007155092 Paris AFP in English 1501 GMT  
10 Jul 92*

[By Aboubacar M'changama]

[Text] Moroni, July 10 (AFP)—Comoros President Said Mohamed Djohar has dismissed the government of this Indian Ocean island republic a week after sacking its leader, officials said Friday. The team had been the fifth government installed under Djohar, a former supreme court judge who took over after the assassination in November 1989 of president Ahmed Abderrahmane Abdallah.

Djohar last week sacked Mohamed Taki, his government chief, accusing him of appointing a former mercenary, Patrick Klein, as special advisor on foreign investment in the Comoro Islands. But the president's own son-in-law, Mohamed Said Abdallah, the all-powerful minister of the economy, finance, trade, planning and the budget, has himself recently been implicated in a financial scandal.

Some analysts said Abdallah's management of the economy had been so disastrous that it had seriously compromised the implementation of a structural adjustment programme imposed by the World Bank and

International Monetary Fund. A new government will have to deal not only with this crisis but also a failure to pay civil servants since February.

In two-and-a-half years, Djohar has put up the backs of most of the archipelago's political leaders and parties, observers said here Friday, and increasingly isolated himself.

The government had been due to organise a general election after parliament's mandate expired in March and to undertake drastic financial measures by the end of September. Djohar was thought likely to turn to the Federation for Democracy and Progress of Abbas Djousouf to form a new team.

The president's predecessor died in a shootout in his office. French mercenary Bob Denard, who had headed the presidential guard, was implicated and forced to leave the islands after French naval intervention and pressure from South Africa. Denard went to South Africa.

## Malawi

### Court Frees Trade Union Leader Chihana on Bail

MB1007163292 Blantyre Malawi Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1600 GMT 10 Jul 92

[Text] The secretary general of the Southern Africa Trade Union Congress, Chakufwa Chihana, was today granted bail by the High Court in Lilongwe. In granting the bail, Justice James Kulaile explained that, in view of the time Chakufwa Chihana had been in custody without any charges (?proffered) against him, he found it necessary that he should be granted bail.

Justice Kulaile said that Chakufwa Chihana was to surrender his passport to the Malawi police and that he should be reporting to the police headquarters once every week. He set (?the price of) bail at [words indistinct] on condition that Chihana [words indistinct] in the sum of (?10,000) kwacha each, and that [words indistinct] in this country.

The representative of the state asked for a period of three to four weeks for the police to (?finish) conducting investigations. Chakufwa Chihana was arrested on 6 April of this year at Kamuzu International Airport in Lilongwe, after his return from Lusaka, Zambia.

### Interviewed on Release

MB1107175492 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 11 Jul 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text]

The Malawian trade unionist, Chakufwa Chihana, has just been let out of prison. Chihana was arrested upon his return to Malawi in early April, after calling for the introduction of multiparty democracy. International pressure was put on President Banda's government in

the subsequent months to release him or at least have him tried in court. Yesterday, a judge in Lilongwe granted Chihana bail on condition that he surrender his passport, report to the police every week and pay some \$2,500. This afternoon, the trade unionist was set free from Zomba prison. On the line to Lilongwe, William Mwanandeah asked Chakufwa Chihana how it felt to be free.

[Chihana] It is fantastic. It is exciting to be back in freedom again.

[Mwanandeah] Now, how were you freed?

[Chihana] I was (?woken up) this evening, at about half four, just to say come, put on your clothes, your (?jacket), by the police. The prison had to apply. That's how I was freed, at quarter to five.

[Mwanandeah] Were there any conditions that you could not pursue your political activities? Was this one of the conditions of your release?

[Chihana]

I (?think these) are conditions [words indistinct] attached for someone on bail. In case I fail to turn up, I think those that have guaranteed the surety must pay.

[Mwanandeah] But are you allowed to talk about your political activities?

[Chihana] Not at this moment. My political activities will have to wait. The case is not going to take so long. I think it must be over by August.

[Mwanandeah]

Now you have been freed, what are your plans?

[Chihana] My plans are to be with my lawyers, to (?get) in touch with my lawyers, and with my family.

### Government To Allow Red Cross Visits to Prisons

MB1007165292 Blantyre Malawi Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1600 GMT 10 Jul 92

[Text] The Malawi Government and the International Committee of the Red Cross, ICRC, have entered into a [word indistinct] arrangement whereby the ICRC is to make periodic visits to Malawi prisons to interview prisoners or detainees of their choice and report their findings to the government.

This was announced today by a spokesman for the Office of the President and Cabinet in Lilongwe. The office said this arrangement had been made with a view to improving the living conditions of prisoners and detainees, and also in compliance with the African Charter on Human and People's Rights, of which Malawi is a (?party).

He said during such visits the International Committee of the Red Cross will have the opportunity to discuss in private with any prisoner or detainee of their choice. The Office of the President and Cabinet said the Committee

will also discuss with the Malawi prison authorities (any possible) financial as well as material assistance they may provide in order to assist Malawi in its prison rehabilitation program.

### Mozambique

#### Government, Renamo Fail To Agree on Food Aid Issue

MB1107180292 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network  
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 11 Jul 92

[Text] The Mozambican Government and Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] teams to the Rome peace talks failed to reach any final agreement during yesterday's discussions on ways to channel emergency food aid to various parts of the country. The two teams also met with representatives of various UN bodies yesterday to analyze the dimension of the catastrophic drought that has been ravaging our country.

Correspondent Tomas Vieira Mario reports the mediators of the Rome peace talks have decided the Mozambican Government and Renamo delegations must resume talks on 13 July and work on the basis of a proposal document to be produced by the international organizations involved in the country's emergency food aid program.

#### Guebuza Interviewed on Talks

MB1207184792 London BBC World Service in English  
1705 GMT 12 Jul 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Peace talks between the Mozambique Government and Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] rebels seem to drag on interminably. The two sides have been talking to each other for almost two years, trying to reach an agreement to end a bitter civil war which has itself dragged on for 15 years. The latest round of talks in Rome began just over a month ago. Pressure is being put on both sides by the international community to speed up the process and hopes were raised last weekend when Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe met Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama in Botswana. On the line to Rome, Anita Coulson asked Armando Guebuza, the head of the Mozambican Government delegation, whether the two sides had made any progress in agreeing on an actual cease-fire.

[Begin recording] [Guebuza] We are still stuck in discussing military issues. We haven't gone up to the cease-fire, unfortunately. We are trying on our side to see to it that we can move fast into the military issues.

[Coulson] Now, last week, Mr. Afonso Dhlakama of the Renamo rebels told Mr. Roberto Mugabe, the Zimbabwean president, at a meeting they had in Gaborone, that he was prepared to offer a conditional cease-fire. Is

that acceptable to your government and if it is, where can you move, what concessions can you make, in order to make this come about?

[Guebuza] Well, it depends on what he presents at the table. Last year, when he was in Lisbon, he made a statement saying that he was ready for a cease-fire on the 25th of December last year. But the fact is that Renamo was not ready for it. So, we instead proposed that, as they cannot go into the cease-fire, then we should move into, at least, a truce. Renamo again refused that. So, again, you see that last month, Dhlakama made this statement and, when he was in Paris, saying that he was ready for a cease-fire in mid-July. What is happening now, is that, well, even with those statements, things are not moving as fast at the negotiating table. For example, besides discussing military issues, we are at this stage also discussing the aid to the populations, to the people who are suffering from the drought. As you know, we have at least 3 million people that may die if by August they don't get food relief.

[Coulson] And will the government now move to allow airlifts to get that food through to them?

[Guebuza] Well, we consider that we should open up completely all ways to support the population by road and whatever means that are available. Humanitarian considerations should come first, after [as heard] any political interests on both parties.

[Coulson] You say you want to open up all communications, but surely, the quickest way to get over this obstacle is to have that food flown in to people. Will the government allow that?

[Guebuza] Yes, of course, we don't have a problem with that. The only problem is not whether we accept an airlift, it is that we know that airlift is not enough. So, we need, besides having to complement what goes by air, we need also to have the roads opened. That is very important.

[Coulson] In order to have the roads opened, as you put it, do you think that it would be profitable at this stage for President Chissano to meet Mr. Dhlakama to try and overcome all these problems that have been occurring in the talks and before them?

[Guebuza] I am sure that President Chissano would be interested in meeting Mr. Dhlakama provided we can know that something concrete in terms of peace, in terms of solving this relief problems for our population, would come out of it. [end recording]

#### Chissano Returns From OAU Summit, U.S. Visit

MB1307054892 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network  
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 12 Jul 92

[Excerpt] President Joaquim Chissano returned to the country this afternoon after an absence of about two weeks during which he took part in the 28th OAU Summit and made a private visit to the United States. The principal objective of the private visit to the United



States was to focus attention there on Mozambique's problems, particularly the peace process. [passage omitted]

#### **Renamo Denial on 'Foreign-Trained Elite Troops'**

*MB1007175592 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 10 Jul 92*

[Text] Quoting a source in the Mozambican Army, MEDI-AFAX, an independent publication, has reported Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] commandos, recently trained in Morocco, have been conducting military operations along the Maputo-Namaacha road over the last few days. That source has disclosed Mozambique's counterintelligence services have learned those commandos have been placed in (Ngungue) base as part of Renamo's plans to take over by force.

To Renamo, 2,000 such men would be enough to carry out the coup. They would attack Maputo from South African bases along the border with Mozambique. Meanwhile, thousands of Kenya-trained Renamo men are operating in the areas of Machaze, Rucanga, and Espungabera in Manica Province.

Meanwhile, Anselmo Vitor, Renamo's political representative on the Joint Verification Commission, has denied his movement has foreign-trained elite troops operating in the aforementioned areas.

### **Namibia**

#### **SWAPO Said Aiding MPLA in Election Activities**

*MB1207174392 Windhoek DIE REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans 7 Jul 92 p 5*

[Unattributed report: "SWAPO Sticking Its Nose Into Angolan Pot"]

[Text] An election debt owed by the South-West African People's Organization [SWAPO] to Angola's Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] in Mr. Martti Ahtisaari's "free and fair election" in Namibia is now being repaid on the airwaves.

In Kavango, the northern area bordering on Angola, SWAPO and the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation [NBC] are openly interfering in the Angolan election contest where a UN team is supposed to be ensuring that everything is "free and fair."

Earlier SWAPO also interfered in the politics of South Africa, its southern neighbor, by donating 1 million rands to the African National Congress. It was never discovered whether the money was donated to the ANC in recognition of its support of SWAPO in the Resolution 435 election.

Canada is one of the countries named as using Namibian territory to swing the Angolan election in favor of the MPLA and against the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA].

Yesterday it was reported from Rundu that hundreds of T-shirts with MPLA slogans were distributed among Kavango children.

The name of a Canadian aid organization, Canamco, was given as one of the strongest MPLA supporters in Namibia.

On 11 July, four children with MPLA shirts and hats were spreading MPLA propaganda for an MPLA meeting at Kaisosi. Trucks were also hired to ferry people to the meeting on the banks of the Kavango on the border.

On 10 July, the NBC at Kavango also broadcast advertisements for the MPLA meeting at Calai just across the border. A previous meeting there had been a dismal failure, and Saturday's meeting again attracted only a handful of people.

Mr. Reggie Ndara of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance [DTA] at Rundu yesterday accused prominent SWAPO politicians of organizing for the MPLA.

Mr. Ndara predicted that large numbers of Namibians will be voting in the Angolan election.

Residents of Kavango have already complained about being disturbed by SWAPO supporters canvassing for the MPLA.

Organizers of opposition parties in the region say they have to pay 30 rands to the NBC to advertise their meetings. They want to know whether the MPLA is also paying the fee.

### **Zambia**

#### **Chiluba Comments on South African Violence**

*MB1107135292 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1100 GMT 11 Jul 92*

[Text] The Zambian president, Frederick Chiluba, has condemned the violence in South Africa, saying that the South African Government is failing in its responsibility to control it.

Mr. Chiluba was addressing 38 members of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa in Lusaka. The group is on a mission to seek other ways to carry out a peaceful transition and to reestablish good relations with other African states.

Mr. Chiluba said the group's efforts would inspire other South Africans to go beyond the doctrines surrounding apartheid.



## Burkina Faso

### Regional Liptako-Gourma Meeting Ends, Comments

AB1207105092 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion  
Nationale du Burkina Faso in French 1300 GMT  
10 Jul 92

[Text] The 28th session of the Liptako-Gourma Authority [ALG]'s Council of Ministers ended with the closing ceremony this morning in Ouagadougou. Participants from member countries, namely Mali, Niger, and Burkina Faso, examined the policies and recommendations presented by the experts' preparatory meeting. After the deliberations, the ministers adopted the director general's report on activities and decided to replenish the development fund. The program for implementing the authority's projects was welcomed, and the Council adopted the 1992-94 budget which, in revenue and expenditures, totaled more than 164 million CFA francs. It also fixed each member country's contribution at more than 54 million CFA francs. Jacques Sawadogo, minister delegate for planning and current chairman of the ALG Council of Ministers, explained to reporter Nathalie Some why there were no financiers at the meeting and gave details on exploiting the region's mine fields. Let us listen to him:

[Begin recording] [Sawadogo] Concerning the financiers, I would like to reassure you that we received many messages of support from our development partners. A delegation from the African Development Bank was present and other banks sent messages of support. Actually, scheduling prevented these partners from sending delegations to the session. Contrary to what you said, the ALG has the support of its partners, mainly financiers, in the current action programs and those in line with the new strategy. We examined all of those and made decisions as well as recommendations.

[Some] The Liptako-Gourma region has some mine fields which have been unexplored so far. Are any actions planned in this regard since a new development policy was to be evolved for the organization?

[Sawadogo] Concerning this problem, I would also like to reassure you that we examined the issue at the session and made recommendations on exploring our region's mine potential. A project for assessing this potentials will soon be launched and this will help us draw up other projects that can be financed so that these resources are mined profitably. [end recording]

## Guinea

### Ministry Denies Existence of ULIMO Camps

AB1107125492 Conakry Radiodiffusion Nationale  
de la Republique de Guinee in French 2200 GMT  
10 Jul 92

[Statement issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation in Conakry on 10 July]

[Text] On Wednesday, 8 July, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of the Republic of Guinea heard on BBC's French program at 1815 a report devoted to the recent visit to Guinea by its correspondent, [name indistinct]. In the program, the correspondent reported the existence of a training camp at Kankan, specifically at Soundiata Keita Barracks, for the fighters of the United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia [ULIMO], an armed movement composed of the late President Samuel Doe's sympathizers. Coming as something of a surprise to say the least, this allegation, which is absolutely unfounded, is likely to tarnish our country's image and discredit the action of solidarity and brotherhood which our people have carried out in Liberia as evidenced in the current material, human and financial sacrifices. The report is aimed at creating a climate of suspicion and mistrust at a time when, through a concerted action, the OAU and the Economic Community of West African States are about to find a fair and lasting solution to the Liberian crisis. Meanwhile, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation recalls that since independence up until [words indistinct], the Republic of Guinea has never served as a launching ground for destabilization actions against another African or non-African country. This attitude is evidenced in Guinea's action in favor of freedom, peace, justice, solidarity, and progress for the Third World in general and Africa in particular.

In view of the foregoing, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation most strongly refutes the biased allegation and reiterates the Guinean Government's determination to continue efforts to consolidate the (long-standing) bonds of friendship between the Guinean and Liberian peoples, who are tied together by geography, history, and culture.

### Iranian Minister Delivers Rafsanjani Invitation

AB1307063292 Paris AFP in French 1918 GMT  
10 Jul 92

[Text] Conakry, 10 Jul (AFP)—Guinean President Lansana Conte has been invited by his Iranian counterpart to visit Iran, it was learned from official sources in Conakry.

The invitation was delivered to the head of state by the Iranian minister of mines who is in Conakry to sign an agreement with Guinea on the exploitation of the Dabola-Tougue bauxite deposits (central Guinea).

Negotiations for this agreement, aimed at establishing a joint company for the exploitation of the deposits, began in September 1990.

## Ivory Coast

### PRC President, Delegation Conclude Visit

#### Qian Qichen News Conference

AB1107100092 Abidjan Radio Cote d'Ivoire Chaine  
Nationale-Une Network in French 1900 GMT 10 Jul 92

[Excerpt] The PRC president's visit to the Ivory Coast continued today. The day's harvest was particularly good

for our country, so to speak. This morning, the PRC granted us a loan of about 5.5 billion CFA francs and this afternoon, it promised to buy our coffee and cocoa. Benjamin Oulai, let us begin with the second piece of good news:

[Oulai] The PRC foreign minister, Qian Qichen, held a news conference this afternoon at the Presidential Palace to mark the end of PRC President Yang Shangkun's visit to the Ivory Coast. The PRC foreign minister, flanked by his Ivorian counterpart, Amara Essy, first described President Yang Shangkun's visit to our country as positive. He said that this visit was aimed at discovering the real needs of the Ivory Coast and the PRC in this cooperation and trying to reinforce it together in the various sectors of production.

He said that South-South cooperation in a spirit of solidarity and interdependence is more than necessary: it is indispensable and pressing today. But it must be done in an atmosphere of peace and calm. In this cooperation, the Ivory Coast and the PRC have agreed that each country is free to adapt the methods that suit its local realities to its development.

Concerning South Africa's sociopolitical problems and Taiwanese competition vis-a-vis the PRC on the African Continent, Qian Qichen stated that the problems of South Africa must be resolved through dialogue and his country hopes that this problem will end satisfactorily as soon as possible.

The PRC is adamant about there being only one PRC. Therefore, there is no reason for a country to cooperate with the PRC and maintain the same relations with Taiwan.

Coming back to Sino-Ivorian cooperation, Qian Qichen said that the PRC would do everything to import the Ivory Coast's coffee and cocoa. Let us listen to him:

[Begin Qian recording in Mandarin fading into French translation] On the economic and commercial level, the PRC is ready to increase its imports from the Ivory Coast. It is ready to buy more Ivorian coffee and cocoa. As you know, the PRC is a country that drinks a lot of tea. We do not drink much coffee and cocoa, but nonetheless, the PRC will buy more of these commodities from the Ivory Coast.

My colleague has already said that raw material producing countries must try to improve their manufacturing. In this field, the PRC can be of help to the Ivory Coast. For example, we can establish joint ventures. [end recording]

I would like to remind you that we are talking about coffee and cocoa.

His Ivorian counterpart, Amara Essy, took the opportunity to point out what the Ivory Coast expects of its cooperation with the PRC, saying that these expectations had already been discussed at the various meetings held during the current visit.

[Begin Essy recording] During our discussions, we examined all possible projects that the PRC could contribute to in either financial or technological assistance. I think that all the areas are open for cooperation between the Ivory Coast and the PRC. In the first place, we have decided to create a permanent Ivory Coast-PRC joint commission with the various ministries so that we can evaluate the progress made every year. I think that this is the best way of strengthening the economic cooperation between our two countries. So far, we can say that our efforts have been somewhat sparse. Every ministry went to the PRC according to its speciality to sign this or that agreement. Therefore, we envisage the creation of a joint commission within which all discussions will be held on all possible topics and avenues for economic cooperation between our two countries.

We have also learned that the PRC has its own habits. It drinks tea, but the PRC has become more and more open to multilateral cooperation. Several countries have shown their interest in the PRC and several Europeans are in the PRC. So, I believe that the consumption of coffee will increase in the PRC. Today, you have all the modern restaurants in Beijing. So, I think there is a possibility of exploring the increase in the consumption of coffee in the PRC. [end recording]

Before the news conference was held this morning, a loan agreement worth more than 5.5 billion CFA francs was signed between the Ivory Coast and the PRC. It is an interest free loan repayable in 20 years. The money is to be used for the construction of the cultural palace. Ivory Coast was represented by Daniel Kablan Duncan, minister delegate to the prime minister in charge of economy, finance, and planning, while the PRC was represented by Foreign Minister Qian Qichen. [passage omitted]

#### Yang Message to President

AB1207133592 Abidjan Radio Cote d'Ivoire Chaîne Nationale-Une Network in French 1900 GMT 11 Jul 92

[Message from PRC President Yang Shangkun to President Felix Houphouët-Boigny]

[Text] At the time when I am about to leave your country, I want to make it a point to express my warmest thanks to your excellency, and through you, to the Ivorian Government and people, for the warm and the cordial hospitality accorded me and my delegation during my visit to Ivory Coast. This visit enabled me to see for myself the achievements made by the Ivorian people under your leadership and to assess the deep feelings which they have for the Chinese people.

I am convinced that the Chinese-Ivorian relations of friendship and cooperation will be further strengthened. I wish prosperity to the Republic of Ivory Coast and happiness to its people. I wish your excellency good health.

Signed: Yang Shangkun, president of the PRC.

### Departure Reported

AB1107141692 Abidjan Radio Cote d'Ivoire Chaîne Nationale-Une Network in French 1230 GMT 11 Jul 92

[Excerpt] Yang Shangkun, the president of the People's Republic of China, who arrived in our country on 7 July, left Abidjan this morning for home. He was seen off at Port-Bouet Airport by Prime Minister Alassane Dramane Ouattara and by Speaker Henri Konan Bedie. [passage omitted]

### Minister's Role in Implementing Plan Analyzed

AB1207131502 Abidjan NOTRE TEMPS in French 8 Jul 92 p 3

[Editorial by Diegou Bailly. "So-Called Democrats, True ScapeGoats"—boldface as published]

[Text] Addressing the head of state on 1 July, the prime minister spoke of "so-called democrats grouped in certain opposition parties and movements and who, on 18 February, initiated demonstrations of a rare violence and brutality."

He also referred to the close "connection between efforts required to implement the economic revival and the need for maintaining an atmosphere of political and social peace." One can now affirm that through those words, Mr. Alassane Dramane Ouattara is seeking scapegoats (the so-called democrats) and a pretext (troubling political and social peace) to justify the failure of his economic revival plan. His address sounded pathetic, like a groggy boxer being booed out of the ring.

The prime minister has finally acknowledged that in the president's absence, his government has won only one victory: it violently repressed the 18 February demonstration. For the rest—all the primary tasks—concerning the implementation of measures that can bring about economic revival, the search for better administrative efficiency, the education sector problems... the prime minister confessed woefully to the president of the Republic that: "Studies (...) were under way for the implementation of new measures."

If we listen to the head of the government, which gave itself 100 days to reorganize the administration and 1000 to revive the economy, the main part of his plan is still "under study" or awaiting the approval of the head of state before being implemented. Clearly, he has not achieved anything yet during the past 800 days that he has headed this government.

We surely thought that Mr. Alassane Dramane Ouattara was speaking euphemistically or refusing to announce his victory over the crisis because of modesty. This impression was all the more founded because a few days earlier Mr. Felix Houphouët-Boigny publicly congratulated his prime minister.

Alas! Our misapprehensions were proved to be correct on 3 July when the REUTERS NEWS AGENCY report

was read announcing the IMF decision, which, according to the news dispatch published by LA VOIE No. 237 of 6 July 1992 "froze its structural adjustment program and stopped disbursing credits" because "Abidjan no longer satisfies the criteria defined by the IMF last year for granting a standby loan of \$120 billion (about 36 billion CFA francs)."

After this news was published—which is nonetheless sad for the Ivory Coast—we expected the prime minister, who is usually prompt in suing the press for libel, to react. Unfortunately, Ivorians have reached the obvious conclusion: the economic recovery plan of Mr. Alassane Dramane Ouattara—if it ever existed—has failed.

Faced with this kind of shame, if the prime minister had kept his word and been a man of honor, he would have anticipated the IMF's decision and resigned. Unfortunately, the sense of honor and the respect for one's given word are not principles found in people these days.

In any case, in these hard times of the moment, one really wonders what a prime minister (of a developing country) can do once he no longer has the backing of the IMF and other international finance institutions. Does one need reminding that it was these same organizations which imposed these vindictive, "fearless and remorseless" heads of government on African countries?

Yet, here we are with a sad and distressing reality for the Ivory Coast: It is the first time—if I am not mistaken—that the IMF has disowned a prime minister whose appointment it encouraged. The Bretton Woods institutions should draw useful lessons from the Ivorian experience. Already, there is at least one basic lesson: "No economic recovery plan can be successfully implemented without the consent of the communities concerned."

This is why the Ivory Coast—in spite of a "technocratic, disciplined, and open government"—is back to square one after two years of futile acrobatics. It is only now that the prime minister is asking the president to take measures that will create the "conditions for a large consensus on our economy's recovery program, which is the only hope of improving the living standards of our fellow citizens."

How could a government formed by a "overwhelming majority" party fail to create a consensus on an economic recovery program? How did the "Ivorian people—who, in the vast majority, approved the brutalities committed (on 18 February) and demonstrated support for measures taken to restore peace and tranquillity"—end up not accepting Mr. Alassane Ouattara's program? What are these criteria spelled out by the IMF, whose noncompliance led to the structural adjustment program being frozen in the Ivory Coast?

As the saying goes: "He who comes from afar is always in a better position to lie." Many Ivorians today wonder if the prime minister lied to them. He promised them rigor; they received sluggishness. He promised them openness, but gave them indolence. Now here is Mr. Alassane



Ouattara who, like the proverbial drowning man who tries to catch a straw or a snake, which bites its own tail, is looking for the "so-called democrats" to make scapegoats of them because of his own turpitude. Wherever one fails to create democracy, one can only find "so-called democrats," which is one more failure the IMF ought to chastise.

## Liberia

### Government Says INPFL March Aimed at Chaos

AB1007151292 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English  
0900 GMT 10 Jul 92

[Text] Intelligence reports have revealed that the June 27 planned demonstration by the leader of the INPFL [Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia], Brigadier General Prince Johnson, had been solely organized with the intent of creating chaos in the capital, Monrovia. A Ministry of Information's statement quoting the intelligence reports said the NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] leader, Mr. Charles Taylor, had traveled to Kakata prior to the demonstration to coordinate (?the chaos). He is reported to have gone to the area on the eve of the abortive demonstration. The reports also revealed that there were plans by the NPFL to kill Mr. Prince Johnson through NPFL commandos disguised as civilian demonstrators.

Mr. Johnson, according to the reports, was to be taken to Mr. Taylor, where he was expected to face court martial for crimes allegedly committed against the NPFL during the war. (?They) disclosed that [words indistinct] on that planned march, because it was thought to be the best [words indistinct] use of [words indistinct] by certain elements in the society to wreak shock and (?public panic) in the city.

According to the Information Ministry's release quoting the intelligence reports, [words indistinct] and on the day of the planned march, NPFL fighters stationed along the Robertsfield highway had attempted to deliberately provoke ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] into a major military engagement to cause widespread panic and confusion among the Liberian people. The NPFL fighters, the statement revealed, had in fact opened fire on ECOMOG to achieve this goal, but said ECOMOG (?maintained its calm in the light of this) provocation.

According to the release, if government had not taken such a timely and (?decisive) action, the country would have by now been plunged into a more disastrous crisis than what the country went through during the crisis. Accordingly, the release added, such a (?legitimate exercise as) launched by the government to protect citizens and property against ill-intentioned persons and groups should never be equated with what some (?writers) regard as a violation of democratic rights.

Meanwhile, the Interim Government of National Unity has advised the media institutions against complicating what it calls an already (?poor) security situation in the country. The government said it had noticed in recent times the tendency on the part of some media personnel to [words indistinct] the life and property in Monrovia and its environs. (?Referring) to the planned demonstration by the INPFL and their position on the issue, some media persons have since elected to confuse the real issue (?at hand), according to the Information Ministry. What is clearly an attempt to breach public peace is being misinterpreted as an attempt to deny certain persons their right of association and democratic aspirations, according to the ministry.

The interim government, certainly, believes in press freedom and the exercise of democratic rights as reflected in its activities thus far but this must be done with a high sense of concern for the welfare of the Liberian people, including journalists.

### ECOMOG Accused of Collaborating With ULIMO

AB1107123092 London BBC World Service  
in English 1705 GMT 9 Jul 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The peace process in Liberia has set another thorny patch. The commander of the ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-fire Monitoring Group] force overseeing the implementation of the Yamoussoukro Accord, General Bakut, has ordered his Senegalese troops to pull out of Grand Cape Mount County where there have been clashes between Charles Taylor's NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] and the forces of the anti-Taylor ULIMO [United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia] movement. On the line, Robin White asked Charles Taylor's defense minister, Tom Woewiyu, how he reacted to the ECOMOG withdrawal from Cape Mount?

[Begin recording] [Woewiyu] I am very concerned because it raises danger for the people of Liberia; it raises series of questions whether or not ECOMOG really is in Liberia to see to it that peace comes to Liberia. Because if they pull out of the buffer zone where there was no war going on until they went in there, and now, we are fighting against ULIMO and they pull out, they were prepared to fight the NPFL when they got to Liberia in order to make sure that peace came, but now that it is ULIMO, and they have caused the ULIMO to get a standing room inside Liberia, now they are pulling away, I am wondering if something breaks out in Monrovia would they leave too? [sentence as heard]

[White] Presuming Gen. Bakut has announced this for fear that more Senegalese might get killed?

[Woewiyu] But Senegalese are not the only forces in Liberia. If the Senegalese feel that they cannot handle the



mission that they were sent on in putting a buffer zone in, there are other contingents—the Nigerian contingency [as heard], the Ghanaians, and there are about five different countries in there. They can go in there and do what they have to do.

[White] Are you accusing ECOMOG of collaborating and helping with ULIMO?

[Woewiyu] It appears that way to me because before ECOMOG went into Cape Mount, we had had several attacks from ULIMO. But, we were able to chase them back across the border and there is no way that anyone can convince me militarily that the ULIMO group that is now in Cape Mount killing all these people is coming in there on foot because there is no real highway they are using unless ECOMOG which we have given three km room to put the buffer zone in is sitting there and watching these people coming in with arms and attacking our people. I mean whether it is collaboration or it is a concoction on their own part, I think the facts are clear.

[White] Are you losing the battle in Cape Mount?

[Woewiyu] No, Robin No. There is no battle to be lost. I mean, for us, right now, what is necessary in Liberia is a free and fair election. If we have to fight, we will fight.

[White] Could you tell me, Mr. Woewiyu, how much fighting there is going on in Cape Mount at this moment?

[Woewiyu] There is serious fighting going on in Cape Mount and lower Lofa. It is not the type [pauses] what they are doing is a guerrilla type of fighting. You get three, four men get up a tag [as heard] and walk into a village, blow up the village, start shooting there, blow up the village, burning down and then run away and go away. This is all that ULIMO is doing. They are not doing any constructive organized fighting. [end recording]

#### **ULIMO, NPFL Clash; ULIMO Leader Interviewed**

*AB1207061592 London BBC World Service  
in English 1515 GMT 10 Jul 92*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Renewed fighting in Liberia's Cape Mount County has put something of a damper on the peace process with ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] saying it is pulling its troops out of the embattled region. The clashes involved Charles Taylor's NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] forces and those of the anti-Taylor movement ULIMO [United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia]. Yesterday, [9 July] Charles Taylor's Defense Minister told us of that NPFL could push ULIMO out of the country without the help of the West African force.

Well, this afternoon, ULIMO leader Alhaji Koromah called us up to put his view and Robin White asked him how he saw the situation:

[Begin recording] [Koromah] What is happening is that we have captured the town of Sasstown. Sasstown has been captured and we are moving in to lower Lofa County, going towards areas where the Senegalese had been killed in the area of Vahun. We also are moving in to areas in Bomi which we do not want to disclose for intelligence information purposes. We are also going to free Robertsport.

[White ] How many men are involved in this fighting? How many of your men are involved?

[Koromah] But you do not expect me to give you the exact number of men. At the time we are moving in guerrilla tactics and that, professionally, and we have given orders—I have given orders—to our men that definitely everything must be done to secure the lives of civilians and unarmed people. We are also having a lot of NPFL men who have dropped their arms, they are running to us, and we are telling them that we are not after them. If they do not want to fight, they just have to lay down their arms. [end recording]

#### **ECOMOG's Bakut Comments on New Timetable**

*AB1107212592 Paris AFP in English 2108 GMT  
11 Jul 92*

[By James Dorbor]

[Text] Monrovia, July 11 (AFP)—A new timetable for disarming all warring factions in Liberia is under discussion with the main rebel group, the field commander of the West African Peacekeeping Force, ECOMOG, [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] General Ishaya Bakut, told AFP Saturday.

The initiative follows the refusal of rebel leader Charles Taylor to allow ECOMOG to disarm and isolate in camps the forces of his National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), who control most of the country. Taylor rejected a prior disarmament timetable, saying that allowing ECOMOG to disarm the NPFL was "tantamount to surrendering Liberia's sovereignty to foreign forces."

Bakut told AFP that the new timetable, which would be prepared with the input of the NPFL's leadership, would consider all misgivings of Liberia's main rebel group. He said the NPFL had already presented a proposed timetable, but that it contains "two doubts" to be cleared. He did not elaborate.

A Yamoussoukro peace accord charged ECOMOG with deploying, disarming and putting into camps all warring factions in the country by the end of last month. The process suffered a setback when six Senegalese peacekeepers were killed in skirmishes last May by NPFL

fighters in Liberia's northwestern Vahun town. Bakut said the general security situation in ECOMOG-controlled Monrovia and its environs "is okay," describing the frequent grenade attacks and armed robberies in the capital as "common crimes" which usually follow civil wars.

Since the beginning of the year, nine people have been killed in 11 grenade attacks which also left scores wounded. Bakut, however, said ECOMOG was facing problems in some NPFL-controlled areas where peacekeepers had been deployed. He said that in some rural areas, "our men do not enjoy the freedom of movement as we wish," adding that this restraint "partially led to the type of friction" between the NPFL and ECOMOG in Vahun.

On a renewed battle between NPFL and the United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia (ULIMO) in Liberia's western Cape Mount county on the border with Sierra Leone, Bakut said he had no details of the fighting, but appealed to the two rebel groups to cease hostilities and demobilize for peace.

He said that was necessary to provide an environment that would lead them to take part in democratic elections in Liberia.

Bakut said ECOMOG would no longer provide escort for Prince Johnson, leader of the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia, INPFL, saying "we gave him escort and he abused it so much." He said "Johnson abused ECOMOG commanders, leaders of nations comprising ECOMOG as well as interim President Amos Sawyer." "He can come to town as a free man, but will undergo the same security check like any other person," Bakut said.

## Mali

### Konare Meets Algerians, Tuaregs, Discusses Pact

AB1207085092 Bamako Radiodiffusion-Television  
du Mali Radio in French 1500 GMT 10 Jul 92

[Text] President Alpha Oumar Konare received today the Algerian delegates and the delegates from the Movements and Fronts of Azawad [MFA] who arrived yesterday from Algiers for the periodic meeting of the National Pact follow-up commission, which is scheduled to begin today. President Konare expressed the gratitude of the people and government to the delegates of Algeria, the mediating country, for its unflinching assistance and support for the peace process in the north. He then addressed the MFA delegates, delivering a message of hope and solidarity. Your presence means that there is an actual chance to attain peace, the president said. Because of the repeated attacks, the situation is, no doubt, difficult. However, we must remain calm, because our country is greater than we are. We have chosen to build a country of solidarity, added Mr. Konare, who called on all the MFA leaders to stand up against the

enemies of peace and to end the present escalation of tensions in the area. Mali will be whole and a free country of solidarity only when all of its sons are united in consolidating democracy. In conclusion, the president expressed the government's support for the efforts to ensure the National Pact's implementation.

### Minister Meets Groups, Discusses Security

AB1107142092 Bamako Radiodiffusion-Television  
du Mali Radio in French 0700 GMT 10 Jul 92

[Text] Prime Minister Younoussi Toure, along with the state ministers for defense and territorial administration, the minister of communications, and the commissioner of the North, chaired a consultation meeting yesterday with associations of people from regions affected by insecurity at the Autonomous Amortization Fund. It was an explanatory meeting of the government in view of fighting off the psychosis, which has gradually taken over a large number of people. This psychosis is the result of the recent attacks recorded in some regions of our country.

During the debate, those who took the floor stressed the need to trap the bandits and ensure security at all borders. The absence of state authority was sharply criticized by the speakers. In his closing address, Prime Minister Younoussi Toure said that the government will take all necessary measures to restore peace in the country.

[Begin Younoussi recording] Malians must know that the current government, under the authority of president of the Republic authority, Alpha Oumar Konare, is a government which intends to set up a democratic nation, a democratic state. We are here for that and will devote all our energy so that Mali eventually becomes a democratic and modern country. A democratic and modern state cannot shelter ills such as racism, obscurity and exclusion. This is not possible. We cannot fall back on such ills. Thus, we are going to devote all of our efforts so that everyone feels free in this country, free to be himself. This is the ideal we are going to fight for. Those who do not agree with us on these basic positions will be confronted with people who are determined to make these ideals come true.

I have called on you today so that associations will know their responsibilities. The government will do its part to restore the state's authority and to ensure the security of all the people of our country, depending on our means. I do not mean that we will achieve our objective in one day, but we have to begin now. We were appointed a month ago and everyone has seen the measures which have taken place. The first results have already been noticed. Our program in this field will not be lessened, it will be reinforced. But to do so, you, the cadres of this country who have understood the need to reinforce national unity, must also take on your responsibilities. [end recording]

## Nigeria

### Babangida on New World Order, Security Council

AB1207144092 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network  
in English 2100 GMT 11 Jul 92

[Text] President Ibrahim Babangida has called on African countries to ensure that their efforts are taken into consideration in the desire to fashion a new world order. The president made the call in Lagos today while opening a national seminar on Africa and the New World Order. He said Africans should not allow the situation which prevailed after the Second World War when their views were not sought before a new international structure was erected. General Babangida said that the African agenda should be derived from an Africa fully converted to the virtues of democracy and representative government. The president observed that the transition to democracy in Africa could not be (painless). Gen. Babangida declared that in the new era of multiparty democracy in Africa Nigeria has led the way. This is because her transition to civil rule program designed in 1986, long before the collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. He gave the assurance that by the end of this year, there will be a presidential election which will conclude the transition from military to civil rule in Nigeria. Gen. Babangida was of the view that the time was long overdue for the category of permanent membership of the United Nations Security Council to be enlarged. He also said that the category of nonpermanent membership could be enlarged through increased membership of all regions of the world. President Babangida argued that this will ensure that the wisdom of all culture and civilization is reflected in the composition, deliberations, and decisions of the Security Council. He said since the world was multicultural, the Security Council should also be multicultural.

### NEC Ratifies National Assembly Election Results

AB1007141592 Lagos Voice of Nigeria in English  
2100 GMT 9 Jul 92

[Text] The National Electoral Commission [NEC] has ratified the results of the National Assembly elections. In all, 89 senatorial and 589 House of Representatives (?zones) were concerned. Out of these figures, the Social Democratic Party [SDP] won 52 senatorial seats and NRC [National Republican Convention] 37.

In the House of Representatives, SDP secured 314 seats while NRC got 275. By-elections have been ordered for the outstanding two senatorial and four House of Representatives seats. The elections will take place on Saturday, 18 July. The director of public affairs of the commission, Mr. Tommy Iredia, told newsmen in Abuja today that the decisions were reached after a one-day meeting of all electoral commissioners.

### SDP Chairman Comments on Relations With AFRC

AB1207084792 Lagos Voice of Nigeria in English  
1030 GMT 11 Jul 92

[Text] Ambassador Baba Gana Kingibe, the national chairman of the Social Democratic Party, SDP, has pledged that an SDP led national assembly will not clash with the Armed Forces Ruling Council [AFRC] before the end of the Transition Program. Addressing a national consultative meeting of the party in Abuja yesterday, the SDP chairman explained that the roles of the two arms of government were distinct. Ambassador Kingibe stated that the SDP led assembly would concern itself with making laws which the AFRC, acting as an executive arm, was expected to execute. He noted that the victory of the party at the July 4 national assembly election was a signal of the readiness of the Nigerians to entrust the presidency in the hands of the SDP. He gave the assurance that the SDP legislators at the national assembly would propose legislation which will bring happiness and social security to all Nigerians.

The SDP national chairman said that the party's views on the conduct of the last elections, would be made public on Sunday [12 July] after it would have received all necessary feedback. He urged all party members to rededicate themselves to the cause of unity and hard work as they move into the final stage of the transition.

The meeting, attended by all SDP governors and national executive members, paid tribute to late Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim who died on Thursday [9 July] in a German hospital.

The National Republican Convention [NRC] says it will make its feelings on the July 4 national assembly elections known after the meeting of its executive committee in Abuja on Thursday [16 July] next week. The party's national director of publicity, Mr. Obinwa Nnaji, said in Abuja today that the Thursday meeting would be preceded by a meeting of the principal officers on Tuesday [14 July].

Mr. Nnaji said that the NRC had so far collated the result of the polls and found that it was normal. He called on the National Electoral Commission to release the figures of votes cast during the election. According to him, there was no cause for alarm because if the recent election was for presidency, the NRC would have won by a simple majority, going by the figures already available to the party.

### SDP Candidate Wants Transition Extended

AB1207221092 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network  
in English 0600 GMT 12 Jul 92

[Text] A Social Democratic Party, SDP, presidential aspirant, Chief Arthur Nzeribe, has given reasons for calling on the Federal Government to extend the period of the transition program. This, he said, was to make room for the present administration to tidy up things



and ensure that the incoming civilian government would not inherit more problems than it could handle. Chief Nzeribe was speaking yesterday in a Radio Nigeria Network phone-in program, Radio Link. He said, for example, that there were a lot of decisions which only the military could effectively tackle. He said that they include boundary adjustment, creation of states, structural adjustment program, payment of the nation's external debts, and adjustment of quota system in appointments to public offices, as well as revenue allocation. The presidential aspirant said, however, that if the military was bent on leaving office, he, Arthur Nzeribe, was the most competent person to solve the problems. Chief Nzeribe further stressed that he had not been making campaign promises because leadership at the center involved taking joint decisions in which one person had no right to dictate. He promised to follow the programs of his party while at the same time take the fate of the masses into consideration if elected.

### Togo

#### Prime Minister Koffigoh Comments on Issues

AB1007145092 Lome Radio Lome in French  
1230 GMT 9 Jul 92

[Text] Prime Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh spoke on television on 8 July evening in the program "Facing the Nation." He was interviewed by three television reporters. The political, economic, and social topics on which the head of the transitional government of national unity spoke for 90 minutes enabled him to throw more light on the national situation. Despite numerous attacks against him, Premier Koffigoh still has the hope that Togo's democratic process will succeed. He emphasized that to achieve this, dialogue and consultations were necessary. On this issue, he said: I believe in dialogue because there cannot be democracy and peace if all political partners do not work together.

Asked whether one could assess the economic and social situation at this present time, the prime minister underlined that the government has tried to outline a solution for the problem of unemployment with the introduction of the employment training program. The government has also reinstated some citizens who fell victim to arbitrary dismissal, he said. He added that the government has pursued the structural adjustment program, meaning the harmonization of revenue and domestic expenditure.

Insecurity was not left out during yesterday evening's "Facing the Nation" program. Prime Minister Kokou Koffigoh stressed that some people consider the democratization process as the cause of this insecurity, but he asked: Must we fear insecurity to the extent of giving up the democratic process? The prime minister does not believe so. He went on to enumerate the various types of insecurity.

[Begin recording] One can identify two types of insecurity. There is insecurity of the common law type—delinquency, petty robbery, real robbery, or highway

robbery. This type of insecurity can be corrected very easily by using the police and the Gendarmerie. This type of insecurity is found in all countries whether democratic or on the path of democratization or totalitarian. This type of insecurity exists everywhere. There is a second type of insecurity which is linked to the very nature, to change in society, and this has a political cause. A durable solution can only be found to this second type of insecurity by digging at the very root of the evil, namely the eradication of political obstacles to make it possible to overcome this type of insecurity. This is what we are doing everyday. [end recording]

The head of the transitional government also spoke about the electorate, which, he said, would be summoned very shortly to hold the referendum probably before December at the latest. The presidential elections are slated for early 1993. In regard to the presidential elections, our colleagues of the television service wanted to know Mr. Koffigoh's intentions. This is what he said:

[Begin recording] As you know, my mother was not the only woman who gave birth in Togo in the year 1948. There were many births then. I have therefore asked that I be forgotten when decrees are formulated, and I believe that the decrees so far formulated are neutral. That is all I can say. [end recording]

[Unidentified reporter] As journalists, we believe that it can be said officially that Mr. Joseph Koffigoh will not run for president in the Fourth Republic.

#### Military Blamed for Attempted Murder of Politician

AB1007161092 Paris AFP in English 1906 GMT  
9 Jul 92

[Text] Paris, July 9 (AFP)—An investigatory panel of the International Federation of Human Rights has blamed the Togolese military for the assassination attempt in May against presidential candidate Gilchrist Olympio. According to the panel's report, a copy of which was obtained Thursday in Paris, Captain Ernest Gnassingbe, son of Togo's head of state Gnassingbe Eyadema, was seen in the vicinity of the attack on Olympio.

The attempt was "apparently prepared and executed by military men," concluded the three-member panel comprising former British police official Ralph Crawshaw, French judge Roger Ribault and Belgian lawyer Marc Neve de Mevergnies.

"The magnitude of the military means employed during the attempt ...implies the complicity of the Armed Forces general staff and... in particular Colonel Aregba of the paratroop commando regiment based near the site of the attack," the report said.



"Captain Ernest Gnassingbe was not seen to be among the presumed gunmen," the report said, "but he was present in the vicinity of the site at which the assassination attempt took place immediately beforehand."

The three members of the panel wrote their report after an on-site investigation between June 8 and 13.

#### **President Condemns Grenade Attack on Parliament**

*AB1307111292 Lome Radio Lome in French  
1900 GMT 11 Jul 92*

[Presidential communique issued in Lome on 11 July, read by reporter Lakougnon Essoh]

[Text] An explosion took place in the premises of the former National Assembly on 10 July at 1230 where the burial ceremony of Dr. Marc Atti Depe, chairman of the Togolese Union for Reconciliation and member of the High Council of the Republic was scheduled to take place. He was a victim of the Soudou criminal attack.

As soon as the head of state, General Gnassingbe Eyadema, was informed of the incident by the French Ambassador to Togo, Bruno Delaye, whose chancery is near the president's private residence in Lome II district, he immediately ordered the chief of Army staff of the Togolese Armed Forces to send the Gendarmerie to the scene and to begin investigations immediately into the nature of the explosions and to find out those responsible for these explosions.

Before the arrival of the Togolese security service at the scene, two gendarmes from the French Embassy in Togo were sent to the former National Assembly by Colonel (Florigonde), defense attache in the French Embassy. These two gendarmes recovered two unexploded grenades which they took back to the chancery.

On their part, the Togolese security forces were also able to recover another unexploded grenade. After all the identity checks, the Togolese security forces concluded that the grenades used were of Russian make, the RG42 type, which do not appear in any of the the Togolese Army stocks. These conclusions are identical to those drawn by the French Embassy's security services which

had to call on the Togolese National Gendarmerie to neutralize the two grenades that were being kept at the French Embassy.

Furthermore, other checks made in all the units by the Army headquarters revealed that their stocks of grenades were intact. This is an opportunity to recall that the grenades that exploded in the Mr. Fanou's parents' residence and the French School are of the same origin.

The president of the Republic condemns these acts of violence which have disturbed the burial of a fellow citizen who has already fallen victim to political violence that has been plaguing our country for some time. The head of state again appeals to all political parties and all those taking part in the national political life, whatever their level, to renounce violence which cannot in any way be the means of expressing democracy to which our country is irreversibly committed.

#### **Grenades Explode at Funeral of HCR Member**

*AB1207092092 Lome Radio Lome in French  
1900 GMT 11 Jul 92*

[Excerpts] Dr. Mark Atti Depe, secretary general of the Togolese Union for Reconciliation, vice president of the Union of Forces for Change and member of the High Council of the Republic [HCR], was being taken to the cemetery where his late wife was already buried. [passage omitted] As his body was being transferred to the parliamentary chamber near the presidential palace, where government members, the HCR, political parties, and associations, etc., were to pay tribute to him, grenades began exploding around 1230 GMT. [passage omitted] The building was empty when the explosions took place and according to the first reports, there was only property damage.

In town, three explosions were heard around 1230 coming from the National Assembly. Witnesses said that immediately after the explosions, they saw a black Mercedes without a license plate, leave the vicinity of the building at full speed. A fire broke out, splinters flew everywhere, some plastic chairs borrowed for the occasion were blown up, and an unexploded grenade was found between the seats.

Our panic-stricken reporters ran back to the radio station. [passage omitted]

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